FEMALE ENGAGEMENT TEAMS: MAKING THE CASE FOR INSTITUTIONALIZATION BASED ON U.S. SECURITY OBJECTIVES IN AFRICA

A Monograph

by

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The U.S. military first began using Female Engagement Teams (FET) in Iraq in 2009 as a means to balance security concerns with cultural sensitivities; form rightly followed function. Eventually it was recognized FETs could be employed beyond conducting searches on the local female population, and their responsibilities grew to include activities such as community relationship building and connecting Afghan families to the Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan.

While it is clear FETs can uniquely support a myriad of security objectives, the efficacy and effectiveness of their engagements rest on the assumptions that the teams are properly recruited, trained, and professionally incentivized. Moreover, their employment assumes FETs' actions support a well-articulated and well-understood strategy about how and why engaging female populations are good for the U.S. military, the women themselves, and the partner nation. Utilizing three case studies from the African continent, the author demonstrated the way in which FETs could (and should) be used to help accomplish U.S. security objectives in Africa. However, to ensure that future FET employments are as efficient and effective as possible, the FET capability needs to be institutionalized within the services – the FET needs to uniformly be understood as a critical enabler versus mandated tasking.

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ABSTRACT

FEMALE ENGAGEMENT TEAMS: MAKING THE CASE FOR INSTITUTIONALIZATION BASED ON U.S. SECURITY OBJECTIVES IN AFRICA, by Ms. Gina Maria O. Jones, 83 pages.

The U.S. military first began using Female Engagement Teams (FET) in Iraq in 2009 as a means to balance security concerns with cultural sensitivities; form rightly followed function. Eventually it was recognized FETs could be employed beyond conducting searches on the local female population, and their responsibilities grew to include activities such as community relationship building and connecting Afghan families to the Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan.

While it is clear FETs can uniquely support a myriad of security objectives, the efficacy and effectiveness of their engagements rest on the assumptions that the teams are properly recruited, trained, and professionally incentivized. Moreover, their employment assumes FETs' actions support a well-articulated and well-understood strategy about how and why engaging female populations are good for the U.S. military, the women themselves, and the partner nation. Utilizing three case studies from the African continent, the author demonstrated the way in which FETs could (and should) be used to help accomplish U.S. security objectives in Africa. However, to ensure that future FET employments are as efficient and effective as possible, the FET capability needs to be institutionalized within the services – the FET needs to uniformly be understood as a critical enabler versus mandated tasking.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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ACRONYMS

AFRICOM   U.S. Africa Command

AQIM   Al Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb

BCT   Brigade Combat Team

FET   Female Engagement Team

CSO   Conflict and Stabilization Operations

CST   Cultural Support Team

DoD   Department of Defense

IJC   International Security Assistance Force Joint Command

ISAF   International Security Assistance Force

JSOTF-TS   Joint Special Operations Task Force – Trans-Sahara

NATO   North Atlantic Treaty Organization

TSS   Trans-Sahara Security Symposium

TSTCP   Trans-Sahara Counterterrorism Partnership

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INTRODUCTION

The U.S. military first began using Female Engagement Teams (FET) in Iraq in 2009 as a means to balance security concerns with cultural sensitivities; form rightly followed function. Eventually it was recognized FETs could be employed beyond conducting searches on the local female population in Afghanistan for example, to more robust capabilities that include community relationship building and connecting Afghan families to the Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan (GIRoA)-provided social and medical services.[1] In May 2010, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) Commander (COMISAF) issued a directive providing guidance to standardize how ISAF units conducted female engagements with Afghan women.[2] As a result, after July of that year, units deployed to Afghanistan conducted in-theater training and performed FET operations as part of their missions.

In October 2011, the ISAF Joint Command (IJC) formalized the mission of its FETs with the following: "Female Engagement Teams are battlefield enablers that influence, inform, and interact with the local population, primarily women, to achieve their counter-insurgency objectives and to build enduring trust, confidence [sic] with the Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan."[3] A January 2012 assessment of the FETs in Afghanistan, however, suggested FET forms had failed to keep apace with FET functions. According to the IJC FET Program Manager at the time, while 149 FETs collectively employed by 14 countries had increasingly gained acceptance for their contributions, they continue "to experience challenges

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[1]MAJ Sheila Medeiros, *ISAF Joint Command's Female Engagement Team Program: Comprehensive Assessment Report* (N.p., January 15, 2012), 1.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid., 2.

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with employment, institutionalization, ad-hoc requirements, standardization of training, national caveats, and more. A major challenge that the U.S. FETs experience is the lack of institutional proponency."[4]

As ISAF looks toward transitioning its lead role for security to the Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF) by the end of 2014, the FET function could be interpreted as at best having changed, and at worst being no longer needed. At least one service has leaned toward the latter interpretation, as the U.S. Marine Corps ended its use of FETs in Afghanistan in August 2012.[5] A spokesperson for Marine forces in Afghanistan stated the shift in responsibilities was part of the drawdown of Marine forces in theater, and the ANSF assumed the work previously conducted by FETs.[6] However, according to the 2010 National Security Strategy, arguably, the *overarching* function remains: "In Afghanistan, we must deny al-Qa'ida a safe haven, deny the Taliban the ability to overthrow the government, and strengthen the capacity of Afghanistan's security forces and government so that they can take lead responsibility for Afghanistan's future.[7] Therefore, the case could be made for the necessity of the FET form to remain given the importance of the female population in bringing to fruition any of the above objectives. This is the fundamental juncture faced by Defense leaders regarding the employment of FETs: understanding which - if any - functions should determine future FET forms.

Based on which interpretation of the FET function is selected, it is possible that the

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[4]Ibid., 11. Email requests for information to the current IJC FET Program Manager, to include numbers of FETs in country, were unanswered.

[5]Dan Lamothe, "The End of Female Engagement Teams," Marine Corps Times, December 29, 2012. http://www.marinecorpstimes.com/news/2012/12/marine-ends-female-engagement-teams-afghanistan-122912 (accessed March 23, 2013).

[6]Ibid.

[7]Barack H. Obama, *National Security Strategy* (Washington, DC: The White House, May 2010), 20.

lessons learned and tactics, techniques, and procedures developed for FET employment become

relegated to the past and fail to inform future understandings of security, development, and

engagement. This approach would demonstrate a fundamental misunderstanding of the nature of

current and future conflicts and the type of access, information, and *partners* the U.S. military

needs and will need to facilitate meaningful and sustainable security. Extensive literature exists

to support the assertion that countries are relatively more secure economically, socially, and

politically when men and women are afforded equitable access to health, education, economic,

and political resources.[8] However, a review of countries currently in conflict or assessed to

experience heightened levels of conflict and instability in the near term illustrated a common

characteristic: relatively higher gender-based gaps in access to resources and opportunities.[9]

Whether the disparity in access is viewed as the cause for increased insecurity, merely a

correlated circumstance, or aspects of both, there is case to be made for formally and consistently

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[8]Ricardo Hausmann, Laura D. Tyson, and Saasdia Zahidi, The Global Gender Gap Report 2012 (Geneva: World Economic Forum, 2012), v, http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GenderGap_Report_2012.pdf (accessed March 23, 2013). The Global Gender Gap Index introduced by the World Economic Forum in 2006, is a framework for capturing the magnitude and scope of gender-based disparities and tracking their progress. The Index benchmarks national gender gaps on economic, political, education and health criteria, and provides country rankings that allow for effective comparisons across regions and income groups, and over time. In 2012, the Index ranked 135 countries.

[9]In December 2012, Foreign Policy Magazine forecasted the security situations in the following countries and regions as the 10 to watch in 2013. If it was available, the 2012 Global Gender Gap ranking was listed next to the country. Sudan (NA), Turkey (124), Afghanistan (NA), Pakistan (134), the Sahel (Mali (128)), Nigeria (110), etc), Democratic Republic of Congo (NA), Kenya (72), Syria (132) and Lebanon (122), Central Asia (Kazakstan (31), Tajikstan (96)), and Iraq (NA). Ratings were not provided for Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, or Kyrgyzstan. Those not on the list but for which security concerns remain are also noteworthy for their rankings: Iran (127), Yemen, (135). Louise Arbour, "10 Conflicts to Watch in 2013," Foreign Policy, December 27, 2012, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2012/12/27/10_conflicts_to_watch_in_2013?page=0,9 (accessed March 23, 2013); Ricardo Hausmann, Laura D. Tyson, and Saasdia Zahidi, *The Global Gender Gap Report 2012* (Geneva: World Economic Forum, 2012), v, http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GenderGap_Report_2012.pdf (accessed March 23, 2013); Paul Stares and Andrew Miller, *Preventive Priorities Survey 2013* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 2012).

accounting for gender perspectives in security decisions.

Despite this reality, DoD-level guidance about how to incorporate gender perspectives into defense matters remains at the formulation stage. Symptomatic of this overarching issue is the lack of uniformity across and within the services with regard to how FETs have been employed. This suggests the notion of FETs as an operational enabler has not been formally embraced, despite the clear need to engage this population. The efficacy and efficiency of FET missions rests on several assumptions about how FET members are selected, trained, and resourced, as well as assumptions about commanders' understanding of how FETs should be employed. These assumptions require validation, an end that requires institionalizing FETs.

The purpose of this study was twofold. The first purpose was to explore the ways FETs have been employed to understand what, if any, role FETs could play in support of future military operations. The second purpose was to explore how FETs, in either their current or modified form, could be employed to support U.S. military objectives on the African continent, specifically in the country of Mali.

The significance of this study is that it illustrated the need to institutionalize FETs. The author argued the work FETs accomplished along the security, governance, and development lines of effort in Afghanistan is work that would similarly complement and enhance U.S. military operations in Africa aimed at providing "a security environment conducive to good governance and development," per the U.S. Africa Command (AFRICOM) Mission Statement.[10] While much of the literature describes the positive effects as a result of FET employment in Iraq and Afghanistan, there is significantly less literature on how FETs could be employed in support of U.S. military operations outside of these regions. In an increasingly fiscally constrained environment and as combat troops return from Afghanistan, it is possible that senior military

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[10]U.S. Africa Command, *Mission Statement*, http://www.africom.mil/about-the-command (accessed March 28, 2013).

leaders could equate the decreased use of FETs with a decreased need for FETs. However, in

reviewing national and Department-level guidance, it is evident that FETs have the ability to

uniquely contribute to "Prevent, Shape and Win" activities – activities that have always been and

will continue to be predicated to a certain extent on engagement.[11]

The following terms are defined to provide a common frame of reference.

Female Engagement Team (FET)

A FET is a formally trained, dedicated resource that enables Brigade Combat Teams (as

the operational environment owners), maneuver battalions (as the battle space owners), and

Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs) to influence and interact with the local population,

primarily women, to achieve their counterinsurgency (COIN) objectives. Based on their access to

the female population, FETs are uniquely positioned to gather atmospheric information about the

immediate village and the surrounding communities. The Marines employ their own version of

FETs and call them such; however, for the purposes of this monograph, FET will refer to Army

General Purpose Force FETs. Specific references to Marine FETs will be delineated as such.

Cultural Support Team (CST)

The term refers to U.S. Army Special Operations Command version of FETs. The

primary task of a CST to is engage a host nation's female and adolescent population in support of

Army Special Operations Forces missions where their interaction with male service members

may be deemed culturally inappropriate. A CST differs from a FET, because CST members are

specifically assessed, selected, trained and educated based upon the ARSOF core attributes to

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[11]U.S. Army, *2012 Army Posture: The Nation's Force for Decisive Action* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 2012), 5-6, https://secureweb2.hqda.pentagon.mil/VDAS_ArmyPostureStatement/2012/APS2012.pdf (accessed March 28, 2013). The 2012 Army Posture Statement described the three essential roles of the Army as the following: to prevent conflict, shape the international environment to enable U.S. Combatant Commanders to assure its friends and contain its enemies, and be ready to win decisively and dominantly.

support ARSOF-unique missions.[12]

Operational FETs

FETs that operate in direct support of a Provincial Reconstruction Team. They are focused on key leader engagements, such as women's shuras, female GiROA officials, and civil-military operations development projects.

Tactical FETs

FETs that operate at brigade and below in direct support of COIN operations. Tactical FETs, like operational FETs, conduct KLEs as required, and they provide less structured female engagement support during COIN operations.

The theoretical framework for this study will rely heavily on development theory. Development theory is a relevant construct based on its ability to explain the social, economic, historical, and political reasons that determine how and why societies develop along certain paths. As no society has ever developed, literally or figuratively, without women, development theory is useful in identifying how social and cultural practices that limit the participation of women within a society may be affecting its economic development and levels of (in)security. Comprehending the effect of these practices on development and security may provide a better understanding of how and why the employment of FETs would support the accomplishment of broader U.S. security objectives.[13]

This study will utilize the narrative approach as its methodology and will rely primarily on primary and secondary sources in the form of academic journal articles, U.S. government

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[12]U.S. Army Special Operations Command, "About the Cultural Support Program," U.S. Army Special Operations Command John F. Kennedy Special Warfare Center and School, http://www.soc.mil/swcs/cst/about.html (accessed March 28, 2013).

[13]"Development" for the purposes of this monograph will refer to Amartya Sen's definition of development as "a process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy." A more detailed discussion of such freedoms is discussed in the Literature Review.

reports, newspaper and magazine articles, and books. Primary and secondary sources will be used to explore the theoretical, conceptual, and empirical bodies of knowledge that discuss development and security. Three case studies: U.S. Africa Command, the Maghreb region, and Mali, will be used to illustrate the security challenges that could be addressed in part through the employment of FETs.

This study will test the following three hypotheses to determine how FETs could be employed in support of U.S. military operations in Africa. First, the employment of FETs would help accomplish U.S. Africa Command objectives. Second, the employment of FETs would help accomplish U.S. security objectives in the Maghreb. The third and final hypothesis is that the employment of FETs would help accomplish U.S. security obectives in Mali.

The following research questions guided this study. First, what types of missions did FETs conduct in Iraq and Afghanistan? Secondly, what social and cultural norms in northern Africa restrict the ability of male U.S. military members from interacting with the region's female population. Thirdly, what is the scope and nature of U.S. security objectives in the Maghreb? Fourth, do security-related initiatives in Mali and the Maghreb focus on development and security? Lastly, what roles, missions, and functions can FETs provide to AFRICOM, and do these support the development of women in Africa?

This study has the following two limitations. First, the information obtained was gathered from unclassified sources. The full effects from the employment of FETs may not have been reported in unclassified channels for security purposes. Moreover, the current classification level of the *U.S. Army Commander's Guide to Female Engagement Teams: Observations, Insights, and Lessons, Version 4*, which was published in September 2012 prevented the author from directly citing the publication. To mitigate this limitation, the author aimed to corroborate official information through open source reporting. Secondly, recommendations about how the employment of FETs could be used on the African continent were largely based on qualitative

assessments about FETs' operational contributions in the absence of quantitative assessments.

This study utilizes the following delimitations in order to better understand the current and future utility of FETs within the U.S. military. The scope of the study was limited to the employment of FETs in support of AFRICOM given the type and source of security challenges on the continent. Additionally, since its inception, the command has emphasized its focus on stability through security cooperation. Therefore, an appreciation for engagement has arguably always been inherent in the command's approach to security challenges.

This study makes the following three assumptions. First, the operational reasons precipitating the need for FETs will continue to be limiting factors for the U.S. military (e.g. cultural norms) in other parts of the world for the foreseeable future. Secondly, there exists no other asset within the U.S. military with the ability to gather information from and interact with the host-nation population, specifically its female populations, to the extent FETs are able based solely on their gender. Thirdly, FET employment in Africa would similarly benefit U.S. military operations at a level at least on par with their successes described in Iraq and Afghanistan.

The research study is presented in six sections. Section I includes the background of the study, statement of the problem, purpose of the study, significance of the study, definition of terms, theoretical framework, research questions, limitations, delimitations, and the assumptions of the study. Section II presents a review of the literature to understand the theoretical and conceptual bodies of information underpinning this study. Section III describes the methodology used for this research study, the narrative approach. This section includes a discussion on the selection of case studies, the research questions posed, and a description of sources. Section IV will be comprised of the three case studies. Section V presents the study's findings including an analysis of the case study findings and a discussion of their implications. Section VI concludes with a summation of the entire study, discussion of the findings, implications of the findings for practice, and recommendations for further research.

LITERATURE REVIEW

This section presents the theoretical and conceptual reviews as the rationale for conducting research on the historical, current, and future employment of FETs. The theoretical review discusses why Amartya Sen's theory of "development as freedom" was selected as the relevant theoretical lens. The conceptual review will identify three concepts within Development Theory: the role of women, human development indicators, and drivers of conflict. These concepts will be used to understand how the challenges confronting development may highlight areas of opportunities for FETs. The empirical review will be presented separately in the next section which is dedicated solely to illustrating the ends, ways, and means of FET employment in Afghanistan.

Development Theory will serve as the main theoretical framework for this monograph, precisely because the very need for FETs suggests the rights of women in the country - albeit a Western, democratic view – are not developed in such a way that would allow for gender neutral engagements. While development has been defined in a number of ways, mainly rooted in the notions of social development as a function of economic development, this work will rely on Amartya Sen's description of "development as freedom." Sen argued from the central premise that in order to understand development as freedom, it was necessary to understand "individual freedom as a social commitment."[14] He argued that while individual agency is ultimately the key to countering social ills that thwart development and symptomatic of underdevelopment, or "unfreedoms" as he termed them, individual agency itself needed to be understood as "inescapably qualified and constrained by the social, political, and economic opportunities available."[15]

[14]Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom* (New York: Anchor Books, 2000), xii.

[15]Ibid.

Sen argued that development as freedom required understanding that expanding freedoms would be the goal of and the principle way in which development would be attained. Put simply, development should be thought of as constitutive of and instrumental for the perpetuation of freedoms and thus development. Moreover, "the intrinsic importance of human freedom, in general, as the preeminent objective of development is strongly supplemented by the instrumental effectiveness of freedoms of particular kinds to promote freedoms of other kinds." The following types of freedom, and the interconnections and reinforcing relationship between the following, are central to understanding Sen's theory of development: economic opportunities, political freedoms, social facilities, transparency guarantees, and protective security.[16] Each of these is understood as fundamental rights and opportunities that advance the general capability of a person while complementing and safeguarding the existence of the others.[17]

This research will utilize Sen's theory of development based on its holistic understanding of what fosters as well as hinders development, an approach with applications for understanding the utility and necessity of engagement. Its understanding of development as a ways and a means is a useful cognitive construct, because it inherently suggests the importance of assessing development as a noun *and* as a verb. As an instrument of national power, and more often than not with the abundance of resources, the U.S. military has had the means to foster development, the ability to build schools, for example. However, utilizing Sen's theory of development, the construction of schools alone would satisfy only half of the theory; there would need to be an equal improvement in how the local community understood what the school and education more broadly represented for the individual and community's development. From a pragmatic standpoint, the holistic understanding that the development as freedom theory advocates is

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[16]Ibid., xiii.

[17]Ibid., 10.

exactly the type of understanding senior military leaders have clamored for from their staffs and intelligence analysts.[18] In sum, Sen's theory of development will provide the theoretical framework based on its practical applications for understanding the why of how of engagement.

Within development theory, there are three concepts in particular that are critical to understanding development as it will be discussed in this research. These three concepts can be described as: the role of women in development, the Human Development Index, and "development traps." Exploring these concepts will lay the analytical foundation for understanding development as both an end and a process.

Any discussion about development would be insufficient if it did not address the necessary role of women in fostering and sustaining security and development. In 2000, the international community formally recognized this role when the United Nations Security Council passed Resolution 1325.[19] The resolution described the way in which warfare had changed, to the extent that war had disproportionately affected civilians, yet women were consistently excluded from playing a meaningful role in the peace process. The resolution called for the greater participation of women given the inherent need for their participation in conflict management, conflict resolution, and sustainable peace.[20] Numerous other international organizations have advocated for an increased appreciation for the role of women in security and development, to include the World Bank which argued the following in its *World Development Report 2012: Gender Equality and Development*:

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[18]LTG Michael T. Flynn, Capt Matt Pottinger, and Paul D. Batchelor, *Fixing Intel: A Blueprint for Making Intelligence Relevant in Afghanistan* (Center for New American Security, 2010), 4, http://www.cnas.org/files/documents/publications/AfghanIntel_Flynn_Jan2010_code507_voices.pdf (accessed December 15, 2013).

[19]UN Security Council, *Resolution 1325 (2000),* S/RES/1325, 2000.

[20]Ibid.

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First, gender equality matters intrinsically, because the ability to live the life of one's own choosing and be spared from absolute deprivation is a basic human right and should be equal for everyone, independent of whether one is male or female. Second, gender equality matters instrumentally, because greater gender equality contributes to economic efficiency and the achievement of other key development outcomes.[21]

The report pointed to the positive correlation between gender equality and development, to include broad productivity gains in a country based on increased individual productivity, the increased development prospects for the individual's children, and the compounding effects of increased participation that strengthens the institutions within a society and thus the society itself.[22]

Literature on the differences between how men and women approach negotiations, and thus engagement, suggest there are pragmatic reasons for increasing the opportunities for women to play a meaningful role in engagements aimed at fostering security and facilitating development. Women are generally more aware of the relationships among the parties negotiating, making them more likely to negotiate with that relationship in mind, versus solely the issues being discussed.[23] To a certain extent, this suggests women negotiate, and thus engage,

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[21]The World Bank, *World Development Report 2012: Gender Equality and Development* (Washington, DC: The World Bank, 2011), 3. The World Development Report looked at patterns in gender equality in the following arenas: human and physical capital endowments, economic opportunities, and in the ability to make choices to achieve desired outcomes (agency). Other international organizations which have similarly commented on the importance of gender equality include the European Union which works with the European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE) that helps the EU and its member states in their efforts to promote gender equality, to fight discrimination based on sex and to raise awareness about gender equality issues. Similarly, the NATO Committee on Gender Perspectives (NCGP) is an advisory body to the NATO Military Committee on gender related policies for the Armed Forces of the Alliance. In January 2013, the Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund, Christine Lagarde, advocated for "inclusive growth," based on the evidence that suggested that "when women do better, economies do better."

[22]Ibid.

[23]Deborah Kolb and G.G. Coolidge, "Her place at the table: A consideration of gender issues in negotiation," In J.Z. Rubin and J.W. Breslin (Eds.) *Negotiation theory and practice* (1991): 261-77, quoted in Roy J. Lewicki et al, *Negotiation*, 6th ed. (New York, NY: McGraw-

with broader understandings of time horizons, and thus the need for solutions that result in the greatest level of mutual satisfaction. Related, men and women perceive power differently, and during negotiations women are more likely to negotiate with the idea of further connecting and empowering all of the parties involved, while "men can be characterized as using power to achieve their own goals or to force the other party to capitulate to their point of view."[24] Differences in how men and women frame the conflict based on time and interests suggest there are advantages to engaging women as complementary sources of and mediums for information, as well as active participants in the negotiation itself.

The second concept that will be reviewed is the Human Development Index (HDI). Developed in 1990 by the United Nations Development Program, the HDI was the first time a single statistic was used to measure a country's economic and social development. The HDI looks at indicators such as life expectancy, educational attainment and income to determine a composite measure of development based on information that is gathered from leading international data agencies and other credible data sources to allow for cross-country comparison; in 2012, the HDI measured indicators in 187 countries and territories.[25] However, because the HDI does not account for considerations such as gender equality and political participation, the index alone is not considered a measure of development.

Originally created to highlight that a country's development should be better understood as a function of its people and their capabilities versus the country's economic growth alone, the HDI can also be used to understand how national policy choices affect HDI factors. For example, analyzing the HDI may shed light on how two countries with similar economic conditions can

Hill/Irwin, 2010), 406.

[24]Ibid.

[25]UN Development Programme, "Human Development Index," UN Development Programme, http://hdr.undp.org/en/statistics/hdi/ (accessed March 15, 2013).

yield significantly different human development outcomes.[26] While not describing the HDI specifically, then U.S. Secretary of State Hillary R. Clinton aptly described the importance of such a tool, "Data not only measures progress, it inspires it. As we have learned in [the U.S.], what gets measured gets done. Once you start measuring problems, people are more inclined to take action to fix them because nobody wants to end up at the bottom of a list of rankings."[27]

Components of the Human Development Index

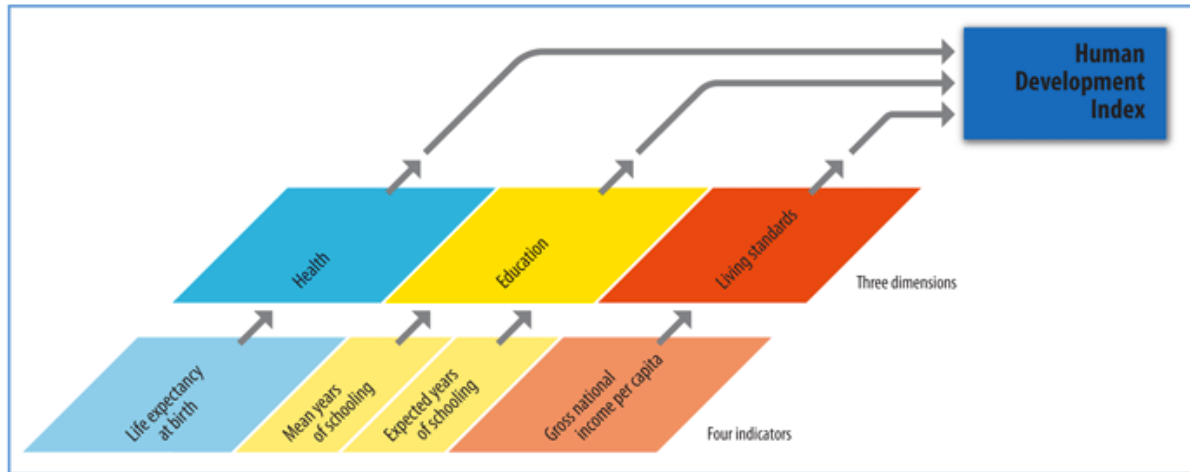The HDI—three dimensions and four indicators

Figure 1. Components of the Human Development Index.

Source: United Nations Development Programme

The final concept within development theory to be analyzed is "development traps." Dr. Paul Collier, professor of economics at Oxford University and author several books, coined the term in his 2007 book, *The Bottom Billion*. Collier argued there were several development traps that prevented the poorest billion people on the earth from developing at a rate qualitatively and quantitatively comparable to the other five billion inhabitants on the planet. He argued most of

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[26]Ibid.

[27]Hillary R. Clinton, "Remarks On Evidence and Impact: Closing the Gender Data Gap" (speech, Gallup, Washington, DC, July 19, 2012), http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2012/07/195244.htm (accessed April 2, 2013).

the bottom billion countries suffered from one or more of the following development traps:

The Conflict Trap: Civil wars and coups are costly endeavors for a country in terms of physical resources and human lives. Collier estimated on average civil wars and coups cost the host countries approximately USD$64 billion. Moreover, countries that experienced conflict as a result of each are particularly sensitive to regressing toward to major violence in the period immediately following the cessation of major hostilities. Additionally, the longer conflict continues, the likelihood increases that individuals will find the conflict and instability profitable with more incentives for perpetuating the conflict than working toward its resolution.[28]

The Natural Resource Trap: Collier argued that natural resources have actually been considered a curse versus a blessing based on the conflict levels in resource-rich countries. Collier cited how the presence of natural resources, particularly in countries with few, if any other developed industries, increases competition and conflict over the resources. Additionally, taxation, the normal process through which the governed held their government accountable, is less of a necessity based on the capital raised from the natural resources. Finally, as the country experiences an increase in the relative value of its currency due to the export of natural resources, the country would likely experience a decrease in its other exports which are now relatively more expensive.[29]

Landlocked with Bad Neighbors: Collier argued that poor landlocked countries with neighbors experiencing similar economic conditions and challenges with internal stability face almost insurmountable challenges enjoying the rest of the world's economic advantages. Lacking a coastline, and thus the ability to trade on a global scale, landlocked countries are forced to trade with their immediate neighbors. Additionally, the country's economic prospects may be further

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[28]Paul Collier, *The Bottom Billion: Why the Poorest Countries Are Failing and What Can Be Done About It* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 33.

[29]Ibid., 40.

limited by a poor infrastructure network connecting it to the already limited markets in neighboring countries.[30]

Bad Governance in a Small Country: Collier argued small countries, particularly poor small countries, require their governments to play a more significant role in guiding the state's economic path. However, when the governments of these countries are involved in corrupt practices or enact poor economic policies, development will simply elude the country. Moreover, the likelihood of these "failing states," as products of the poor economic policies, experiencing a sustained (at least five years) turnaround in any given year was found to be extremely low – 1.6%; failing states were likely to remain failing.[31] On average, if a country was able to get out of being a failing state, it would take them approximately 59 years to do so.[32]

This section began with a review of the theoretical literature upon which this research would most significantly rely, development theory. Amartya Sen's theory of development as freedom was briefly outlined, and the author discussed the reasons why this cognitive construct would be most useful for understanding both development and engagement for the purposes of this monograph. The conceptual review introduced three aspects of development theory that would underping the analysis of development and security in each of the case studies. Another section in this paper will specifically analyze the employment of FETs in Afghanistan through an ends, ways, and means construct. That discussion will serve as the empirical review to complement the theoretical and conceptual reviews that were presented in this section.

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[30]Ibid., 54-57.

[31]Ibid., 68. Collier defines "failing states" as those low-income countries that are below the cutoff for governance and economic polices. He describes the states as failing in two respects: failing their citizens based on the country's relative rate of growth as compared to other countries, and failing based on the idea that countries that are failing to grow are living dangerously as evidenced in the conflict trap discussed above.

[32]Ibid., 71.

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METHODOLOGY

The primary goal of this study was to understand the ways in which the employment of FETs could support U.S. objectives in Africa, and specifically in the Maghreb region and the country of Mali. The author reviewed the ends, ways, and means that informed the employment of FETs in Afghanistan and Iraq and briefly outlined factors that affected the efficacy and efficiency of those FET operations. The remainder of the study reviewed the ends as expressed by U.S. security interests in Africa, the Maghreb, and Mali, and identified the utility in understanding FETs as a ways and means toward those ends. The methodology employed to answer the research questions is presented in this chapter. This chapter is organized into four sections: selection of participants, instrumentation, data collection, and data analysis.

This study utilized purposive sampling, specifically criterion sampling, as the chosen form of data collection. This form of sampling allowed the author to demonstrate the feasibility and suitability of the employment of FETs in support of theater, regional, and country-specific U.S. objectives. The purposive sample enabled the examination of the social, economic, political circumstances and considerations that have affected and would likely continue to affect the employment of U.S. military FETs.

AFRICOM was selected as a case study based on the continent's myriad of security challenges in the near and long-term. While the continent is not uniformly challenged by the same factors, the command itself is uniquely handicapped as it has no combat forces assigned to it in the case a contingency arises. Moreover, since its inception, the command has informed its operational approach with the ethos of stability through security engagement. Given this resident paradigm, the author wanted to explore the ability of FETs to support an existing operational approach and cognitive construct based on engagement.

The Maghreb was selected as a case study based on the unique challenges it presented for U.S. security objectives in this particular time, space, and purpose. Following the events of the

Arab Spring which saw several north African leaders deposed, the region has grappled with what its future could and should look like, to include the role of women. As north African leaders were forced out, the U.S. no longer had the same familiar, albeit autocratic, leaders with which to engage. Therefore, any security approach in the region would have to be crafted with new engagement partners in mind so that stability and security were mutually and reinforcing versus mutually exclusive conditions.

Mali was selected as a case study largely based on the nature and source of the recent instability in the country, as well as the likely challenges any U.S. military presence would face in the country. The Malian people, particularly in the northern part of the country where Islamic extremists have gained a foothold, practice cultural norms that limit the U.S. military's ability to interact with half of the Malian population - women.[33] Secondly, based on domestic polsitical and economic concerns, there is little to no appetite – by President Barack Obama, leaders of the defense community, nor the American people – for the use of a large U.S. military force anywhere, least of all another under-developed Muslim country. Lastly, senior U.S. military and diplomatic officials have acknowledged the need to address security concerns in Mali that threaten the stability of the entire region.[34]

The author used the narrative approach to conduct this study. This qualitative approach was selected for its ability to identify how FETs could be used to accomplish multi-tiered and

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[33]Central Intelligence Agency, *Mali Fact Sheet* (Washington, DC, 2013), https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ml.html (accessed April 3, 2013).

[34]Jim Garamone, "Collaborating Extremist Groups Worry Africom Commander," *American Forces Press Service*, December 4, 2012. http://www.africom.mil/Newsroom/Article/10117/collaborating-extremist-groups-worry-africom-comma (accessed April 3, 2013); Hillary R. Clinton, "Transcript: Clinton's Remarks at Un Secretary General Meeting On the Sahel" (speech, UN Secretary General Meeting, New York, NY, September 26, 2012), http://www.africom.mil/Newsroom/Transcript/9600/transcript-clintons-remarks-at-un-secretary-genera (accessed April 3, 2013).

nested objectives. By examining the overarching national and security objectives that inform U.S. military activities in Africa, the author was able to demonstrate how the employment of FETs supported and reinforced U.S. policies and complemented existing U.S. initiatives at the combatant command, regional, and country levels.

The qualitative method of data collection incorporated archival data research. The study was conducted using multiple sources of documentation: official U.S. government documents, books, scholarly articles, and research independently sponsored by numerous entities with various levels of association and affiliation with security issues in Africa, U.S. and international policies to address such, and the U.S. military FETs programs. By incorporating a broad and diverse set of entities writing from their respective perspectives (e.g. security, development, role of women), the author ensured the study sufficiently reflected the U.S. policy and operational considerations at the theater, regional, and country levels that would affect the efficacy and employment of FETs.

The case studies were analyzed according to set of research of questions that examined the national-level interests, military-objectives, and country-specific considerations which would affect the employment of FETs on the African continent. Case findings were generally compared with the previous rationales for employing FETs in Iraq and Afghanistan and were further contextualized by the regiona and country-specific considerations affecting the employment and efficacy of FETs in the Maghreb and Mali. Upon reviewing these, the author identified how the employment of FETs could support U.S. strategic and operational interests in each.

The first research question is, "What types of missions did FETs conduct in Iraq and Afghanistan?" This question is important, because it will help determine whether the conditions and operational challenges (e.g. human development indicators, security, cultural) that initially necessitated FETs in Afghanistan are sufficiently similar to the current conditions in Mali. The author expected that while there may be differences in the level of U.S. involvement expended

toward desired outcomes in each, the conditions and operational challenges in Afghanistan and Mali are sufficiently similar. This research question supports the hypotheses, because the efficacy and efficiency of FETs is informed by the operational environment in which they will be employed.

The second research question is, "What roles, missions, and functions can FETs provide to Africa Command?" This question is important, because it helps to understand how FETs could be used to further U.S. interests on the African continent. Moreover, the question helps to provide a level of intersubjectivity on the ways in which the FET could be seen as an operational enabler not unlike logistical and communications capabilities. The author expected that there would be numerous ways, figuratively and literally, in which FETs could and should help inform and accomplish U.S. strategic and operational objectives in Africa. This research question supports the hypotheses, because it explores how the existing strategic and operational guidance informs and directs U.S. operations in Africa – guidance that could and should be used to similarly inform and direct the employment of FETs on the continent.

The third research question is, "What social and cultural norms in the northern Africa restrict the ability of male U.S. military members from interacting with the region's female population? This question is important, because it helps to understand the latent historical and cultural factors that would affect how the people of the Maghreb and Mali understand the utility of FETs toward improving the overall security environment. The author expects to see that there are regional and country-specific historical and cultural reasons for employing FETs in the Maghreb and Mali. This research question supports the hypotheses, because it explores ways in which FETs may be uniquely qualified, based solely on their gender, to gain access to information not readily – if ever – available to their male counterparts but which could be critical to the success and/or failure of U.S. operations.

The fourth research question is, "What is the scope and nature of U.S. security objectives

in the Maghreb, and how do these support the security and development of women?" This question is important, because by understanding the security objectives, one is able to better understand the obstacles that may be preventing the attainment of those objectives in the region. Moreover, by understanding the security objectives in the specific relation to the security and development of women, one is able to understand if and how current security objectives might actually be negatively affecting the security and development of women. This research question supports the hypotheses, because the employment of FETs must be nested within an operational approach that supports the broader U.S. security objectives in the region.

The final research question is, "What is the scope and nature of U.S. security objectives in Mali, and how do these support the security and development of women?" This question is important, because it, again, it has the potential to illuminate the possible ways in which the attainment of security objectives may be negatively affecting the security and development of Malian women. This research question supports the hypotheses, because the employment of FETs must be nested within an operational approach that supports the broader U.S. security objectives in the country.

This section restated the purpose of this research and presented the research questions. Moreover, this section discussed how the case studies were selected, as was the rationale for utilizing the narrative as the methodological tool. The data collection procedures were also discussed in this chapter. Finally, the methods of data analysis for each of the research questions were presented, followed by a discussion of how the analytical findings would be used. The results of the data analysis are presented in the following sections.

FETS IN AGHANISTAN: ENDS, WAYS, MEANS

The purpose of this section is to describe the scope and nature of the FET programs in Afghanistan, and to a lesser extent Iraq. The first part examines the ends, the teams' objectives as

determined by the organization to which they were assigned. That discussion is followed by an examination of the means, specifically the teams themselves and they ways in which they were recruited, trained, and staffed, and an analysis of the ways will explore how the teams were employed in support of organizational objectives. This section will conclude with a discussion of the predominant themes within the literature as they relate to the efficacy and efficiency of the FET program.

The FET programs in the U.S. Marine Corps and Army have their roots in their respective Lioness Programs that were developed in the mid-2000s in Iraq. The initiatives, largely tactical in nature, were used to overcome cultural norms that severely limited the interaction of male Soldiers and Marines with Iraqi women.[35] For example, the Marines' Lioness Program initially used female Marines to ensure women were not being used to smuggle weapons through tactical checkpoints, while the Army's Team Lioness attached female soldiers to all-male combat units for the purposes of defusing unit tensions with Iraqi women and children.[36] Another precursor to the Marine FET program was the Iraq Women's Engagement (IWE) Program which was tasked with "identifying sources of instability from the women, connecting the women together, and then coordinating with local government, civil affairs personnel, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and provincial reconstruction teams (PRTs) to facilitate the reduction of

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[35]Soraya S. Nelson "Woman to Woman: A New Strategy in Afghanistan," *National Public Radio*, September 7, 2009. http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=112606206 (accessed April 3, 2013).

[36]Meg McLagan and Daria Sommers, "Women in the Military: Defusing Tensions with Iraqi Women and Children, and More," Regarding War, http://www.pbs.org/pov/regardingwar/conversations/women-and-war/women-in-the-military-defusing-tensions-with-iraqi-women-and-children-and-more.php (accessed April 3, 2013); Cpl. Adam Johnston, "RCT-2 prepares Lionesses for 'the wild'," 2nd Marine Division, http://www.2ndmardiv.marines.mil/News/NewsArticleDisplay/tabid/2643/Article/40774/rct-2-prepares-lionesses-for-the-wild.aspx (accessed April 3, 2013).

those instabilities."[37]

In 2009, the Marines established the first *ad hoc* FET in Afghanistan in response to a security incident. It was assessed the female Marines could help conduct a cordon-and-knock operation aimed at locating two men involved in Improved Explosive Device (IED) attacks on Marines. The Marines were granted access to the village after the local commander assured the village elder that male Marines would not come in contact with the village's female population.[38] In the end, while the initial focus of the FET was tactical in nature, its ability to engage with and influence the female population within the village and by extension the male Afghan villagers proved to have significant operational implications.

Though FETs have been deployed to Iraq, the teams have been used with greater frequency and intensity in Afghanistan as part of Operation ENDURING FREEDOM. This is largely due to an increased awareness on the part of commanders about how the teams are able to complement and enhance missions.[39] In May 2010, the COMISAF issued a directive intended to standardize the way in which ISAF units engaged with the Afghan female population, and in July of that year, units in Afghanistan conducted in-theater training and FET operations were included as part of unit missions. By March 2011, the COMISAF directed that all Brigade Combat Teams deploying to Afghanistan after August 2011 have trained FETs assigned to the unit prior to

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[37]MSgt Julia Watson, "Female Engagement Teams: The Case for More Female Civil Affairs Marines," The Marine Corps Gazette, http://www.mca-marines.org/gazette/article/female-engagement-teams-case-more-female-civil-affairs-marines (accessed April 3, 2013).

[38]Mark Pottinger, "Female engagement team after action review and way forward," (2009), quoted in Sasha Mehra, *Equal Opportunity Counterinsurgency: The Importance of Afghan Women in U.S. Counterinsurgency Operations* (Ft. Leavenworth, KS: U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, 2011), 22.

[39]Jennifer Mattson "Behind the Veil," *NCO Jounal* 21, no. 6 (June 2012): 14-21, http://www.dvidshub.net/publication/issues/10563 (accessed April 3, 2013).

deploying.[40]

 Prior to understanding the role and contribution of FETs, one would need to understand the U.S. strategic objectives in Afghanistan. As articulated in the 2010 National Security Strategy (NSS), "In Afghanistan, [the U.S.] must deny al-Qa'ida a safe haven, deny the Taliban the ability to overthrow the government, and strengthen the capacity of Afghanistan's security forces and government so that they can take lead responsibility for Afghanistan's future."[41] The strategy outlines several components of these ends, namely, "targeting the insurgency, working to secure key population centers, and increasing efforts to train Afghan security forces" while working to "improve accountable and effective governance" and "supporting the human rights of all of Afghanistan's people—women and men."[42] The NSS recognized "a strong, stable, and prosperous Afghanistan" was only possible with a strong, stable, and prosperous Afghan female population.[43]

 In October 2011, the International Security Alliance Forces Joint Command (IJC) Female Engagement Team Program Manager (FET PM) formalized the FET mission as follows: "Female Engagement Teams are battlefield enablers that influence, inform and interact with the local population, primarily women, to achieve their counter-insurgency (COIN) objectives and to build enduring trust, confidence [sic] with the Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan."[44] Similarly, an operations officer with the Marine Special Operations Regiment succinctly summed

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[40]Medeiros, 1.

[41]Obama, *National Security Strategy,* 20.

[42]Ibid.

[43]Ibid.

[44]Medeiros, 1.

up the ultimate end of the FETs, "The whole goal is recognizing that the battle in Afghanistan is getting the people to buy into the idea of a state…You're not going to get that buy-in by appealing to half the population."[45]

The role of FETs in Afghanistan has evolved and expanded since 2009, however, the employment of FETs has largely been dictated by the commander's understanding and appreciation for FET capabilities.[46] Once solely tasked with being on hand to conduct searches on the local female population, the teams have assumed more robust capabilities to include key female engagements at the individual, family, and village levels. As described by the IJC FET Program Manager in 2012:

> FETs conduct community relationship building, information gathering through information operations sensing; messaging and atmospherics; and connecting Afghan families to Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan-provided social and legal services, medical and community health clinic outreach and special skills clinics.[47]

A May 2011 presentation provided a more detailed overview of the Marine FET program in Afghanistan and the types of activities the FETs conducted to enhance their commander's understanding of the operational environment. Marine FETs were described as providing the following capabilities: engagement as a means to influence, passive information collection, information dissemination, medical outreach, facilitate civil military operations, and security support which included female searches and support for clearing operations.[48] Marine FETs

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[45]Trista Talton, "MARSOC Looks to Women for New Mission," *Marine Corps Times*, November 14, 2009. http://www.marinecorpstimes.com/article/20091114/NEWS/911140311/MarSOC-looks-to-women-for-new-mission (accessed April 3, 2013).

[46]Medeiros, 10.

[47]Medeiros, 1.

[48]1stLt Zoe Bedell, *United States Marine Corps Female Engagement Team* (2011), 7, http://www.nato.int/issues/women_nato/meeting-records/2011/pdf/BEDELL_FETPresentation.pdf (accessed April 3, 2013).

conducted six types of engagements: community relationship building, health, education, economic and employment opportunities, women's governance, and enemy activity. Additionally, they conducted three types of missions: Women's Shuras, medical outreach, and security missions.[49] Additionally, within the Marine Corps Forces Special Operations Command (MARSOC), the CST mission was "to support Marine Special Operations by engaging Afghan Families in a persistent manner at the village-level in order to build a community of resiliency against insurgency and increase support for Afghan governance."[50]

The U.S. Army FETs accomplish missions in Afghanistan similar in scope and nature to those conducted by the Marine FETs. Informed by the FET mission statement, Army FETs are employed at the discretion of the unit's commander and operate in support of local requirements at brigade level or lower.[51] These contributions have caused some to argue that FETs are and should be thought of, at the very least for planning purposes, as combat enablers, not unlike intelligence and logistics.[52] FETs have accomplished a myriad of tasks, to include: facilitating female engagements, key leader engagements, and civil-military operations; gathering and reporting information; disseminating messages; conducting female searches; and supporting combat patrols as required.[53] Army Special Operations Command employs Cultural Support Teams (CST) to augment its special forces and Ranger units, and CSTs directly support activities

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[49]Ibid., 8.

[50]Marine Corps Special Operations Support Group, *Cultural Support Team Mission* (Camp Lejeune: U.S. Marine Corps Forces Special Operations Command), http://www.marsoc.marines.mil/Recruiting/CulturalSupportTeam.aspx (accessed April 3, 2013).

[51]Mattson, 14-21.

[52]Mattson, 14-21.

[53]Mattson, 14-21.

ranging from medical civic-action programs, searches and seizures, humanitarian assistance and civil-military operations.[54]

The composition of FETs is not appreciably different among the services; however, there are significant differences in how the services recruit and train their FET members. Both the Marines and the Army define a FET as a minimum of a two-person team, and both services augment their FETs with female medical personnel and female linguists when able.[55] Within the Army, FET members have come from the BCT's internally assigned female Soldiers, and BCTs have not been augmented with additional personnel to fill the void of female Soldiers selected to serve on FETs.[56] Some units have decided to model their FET candidate selection guidelines after the U.S. Army Special Operations Cultural (USASOC) Support Team selection criteria; however, in the absence of formal guidance from U.S. Army Forces Command, the BCT commander reserves the right to waive any or all of the FET candidate selection guidelines.[57] As of January 2012, there was no standard process for selecting FET members nor organizing a FET.[58]

Similarly, the training of FETs remains a challenge in the absence of a formal training program. Since April 2011, the Army has utilized a train-the-trainer approach whereby a FET handbook was created for commanders and deploying units had access to a training support

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[54]U.S. Army John F. Kennedy Special Warfare Center and School, *About the Cultural Support Program* (U.S. Army Special Operations Command John F. Kennedy Special Warfare Center and School), http://www.soc.mil/swcs/cst/index.htm (accessed April 3, 2013).

[55]Bedell, 5.

[56]Medeiros, 10.

[57]Interview with Dr. LisaRe Brooks of the U.S. Army Research Institute, February 6, 2013.

[58]Medeiros, 5. Requests for information to the IJC FET Program Manager regarding current methods for selecting and organizing FETs were unanswered.

package which they would use to train their own team.[59] The fourth version of the

"Commander's Guide to Female Engagement Teams" is available on Army Lessons Learned

Information System, while the FET training support package is available on the Army Training

Network. FET training is varied, however, has and could include any of the following: culture

and language training, FET mission planning, information gathering, weapons training, and

combatives.[60]

USASOC employs a more rigorous selection and training program for its CSTs based on

the nature of the missions the teams are tasked to support. According to the USASOC website,

"A cultural support specialist differs [from a FET member] because she is specifically assessed,

selected, trained and educated based upon the ARSOF core attributes to support ARSOF-unique

missions."[61] Prior to attending the six-week course, female Soldiers must complete the nine-day

assessment and selection phase which includes physical, mental, and intellectual evaluations.

Established in 2010, the course blocks of instruction included: weapons familiarization and

related tactical training, medical training, cultural and engagement training, and tactical

information collection.[62] All members must complete this training, and those selected for CSTs

must make at a minimum a one-year commitment to the program.[63]

The Marines employ a selection and formalized training program similar in scope and

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[59]LTC Janet R. Holliday, "Female Engagement Teams: The Need to Standardize Training and Employment," *Military Review* 42, no. 2 (March-April 2012): 90-94.

[60]Mattson, 14-21.

[61]U.S. Army John F. Kennedy Special Warfare Center and School, *About the Cultural Support Program* (U.S. Army Special Operations Command John F. Kennedy Special Warfare Center and School), http://www.soc.mil/swcs/cst/index.htm (accessed April 3, 2013).

[62]Ibid.

[63]Ibid.

nature to that of USASOC CS training. Female Marines are screened for rank requirements, leadership skills, physical fitness, and interpersonal skills needed to conduct a wide variety of engagements. Their training similarly consists of cultural and language training, as well as engagement and combat skills.[64] MARSOC employs Cultural Support Teams (CST), and members receive specialized training to prepare them for the deployment (e.g. Special Operations Training Course; Full Spectrum Survival, Evasion, Resistance, and Evasion training). Additionally, the CSTs spend two months training with their assigned MARSOC unit before deploying.[65]

This section will briefly summarize the range of assessments about the efficacy and efficiency of the FET and CST programs. Of note, however, the assessments of the programs are largely based on qualitative information in the form of vignettes. Beyond the types and numbers of missions being accomplished by FETs and CSTs, there is scant quantitative information available that would support assessments about the efficacy of the programs.[66]

There is little debate about the efficacy of the FET and CST programs – they are valued added. Numerous reports highlight the ways in which FETs have afforded units previously unattainable access to and information about local Afghan communities.[67] Moreover, the teams'

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[64]Regional Command Southwest Press Room, *Female Engagement Team (USMC)* (U.S. Marine Corps), http://regionalcommandsouthwest.wordpress.com/about/female-engagement-team-usmc/ (accessed April 3, 2013).

[65]Marine Corps Special Operations Support Group, *Cultural Support Team Mission* (Camp Lejeune: U.S. Marine Corps Forces Special Operations Command), http://www.marsoc.marines.mil/Recruiting/CulturalSupportTeam.aspx (accessed April 3, 2013).

[66]Holliday, 90-94.

[67]Mattson, 14-21; Holliday, 90-94; Matt Pottinger, Hali Jilani, and Claire Russo, "Half-hearted: Trying to Win Afghanistan Without Afghan Women," *Small Wars Journal* (February 18, 2010), http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/trying-to-win-afghanistan-without-afghan-women (accessed April 3, 2013).

ability to engage with both men and women has enabled the FETs to play a critical role toward building a rapport between the units and the communities, and ultimately, between the communities and their local Afghan government. The teams have received high level endorsements for their work, as reflected in the COMISAF-directed expansion of the FET program in Afghanistan, and comments made by LTG John F. Mulholland Jr., then commander of the U.S. Army Special Operations Command, during a CST course graduation ceremony, "It is my hope that CSTs become an enduring competency within the U.S. Army Special Operations Command."[68] In sum, what the teams are doing is valued added, but it begs the question – are the teams providing the greatest value possible? Based on current assessments, the efficacy of the teams is informed by how (in)efficiently the teams are being employed.

Assessments critical of the FET programs focus on how the Army FETs are managed and employed. While guidance exists requiring FETs, there are little more than recommendations about how FETs should be employed. According to a January 2012 survey of female engagers in Afghanistan, forty-five percent of them assessed they were underutilized by their commanders due to the commander's lack of understanding in two areas: how to employ FETs and FET capabilities.[69] This is critical considering the majority of FETs operate in support of unit objectives and at the behest of the commander. While there are reports of FETs being employed and managed well, female engagers reported being provided insufficient guidance to plan missions, or included too late into the planning process, if at all.[70] Other challenges at the unit-

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[68]U.S. Army Special Operations Command, *Course Trains Cultural Teams to Work with Women in Theater* (Ft Bragg: USASOC, 2011), http://www.army.mil/article/50679/course-trains-cultural-teams-to-work-with-women-in-theater (accessed April 3, 2013).

[69]Medeiros, 9.

[70]Ibid.

level included FET members being double and triple-hatted if they are not full-time FET members, which most were not. This situation could pose significant safety issues for the engager and her unit if she is continually overtasked to fulfill her primary duty and her FET responsibilities. Moreover, limited time for engagers to train and conduct rehearsals reportedly hampered the team's effectiveness and could result in safety issues.[71]

The training and resourcing of FETs were also sources of critique. The Army's current approach to training, "train-the-trainer," is for all intents and purposes devoid of subject matter expertise. While the information in the training support package was informed by subject matter experts, failing to ensure the material was presented in an appropriate manner increases the likelihood of the engagers doing more harm than good for the mission.[72] Additionally, FETs were not outfitted with their own resources, particularly transportation resources and interpreters. Aside from creating animosity in the unit based on a competition for resources, this constraint made it difficult for FETs to maintain a consistent presence and engage the local populations – activities necessary to building trust and confidence.[73]

At the operational level, reports suggested an insufficient level of coordination and deconfliction among the FETs. As Holliday points out, "[FET] efforts can be redundant and repetitive when not properly coordinated across the battle space and when coupled with the current non-standardized training. The resulting effort is not nearly as effective as it could be in reaching Afghan women."[74] This problem was compounded by non-standardized FET reporting procedures in the absence of ISAF guidance or a directive to do so. Who receives the information

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[71]Pottinger, Jilani, and Russo.

[72]Holliday, 90-94.

[73]Medeiros, 10.

[74]Holliday, 90-94.

and determines how it will be used is based on region-specific processes and procedures, activities that may be less than ideally nested with operational and strategic objectives.[75] Beyond a lack of clear understanding about tactical versus operational level-FET initiatives, efforts were additionally complicated when reliefs in place and transfers of authority occurred, because the "successful projects are sometimes lost in transition and may take several months to start again."[76]

By looking at the ends, ways, and means of the FET programs in Afghanistan, this section described the objectives the teams are meant to support and accomplish, the types of missions FETs conduct, and the composition of and skillsets resident within FETs. The section ended with an overview of the predominant themes in the literature regarding the teams' efficacy and efficiency. With an understanding of the FETs themselves and their recent successes and challenges in Afghanistan, one can begin to understand how the institutionalization of the FET as a service enabler could contribute to the accomplishment of U.S. tactical, operational, and strategic objectives beyond Afghanistan.

CASE STUDY: U.S. AFRICA COMMAND

The purpose of this section is to outline the current national, department, and theater level guidance and objectives that address the importance of women and development with regard to U.S. security interests in Africa. The guidance is understood in the context of what and how the DOD and AFRICOM expect to accomplish strategic and operational objectives given the operational environment. After understanding the functions that AFRICOM must address and accomplish, this section ends with a recommendation about how FETs could be employed to support AFRICOM objectives.

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[75]Medeiros, 10.

[76]Holliday, 90-94.

The 2010 NSS provides the overarching vision under which all approaches as executed by the four instruments of national power – diplomatic, information, military, and economic – focus their resources and develop their criterion for success. Therefore, the NSS is the logical starting point to understand the regional and functional context for U.S. initiatives in Africa and in support of women, specifically.

The NSS prioritized U.S. strategic interventions in Africa on those activities most able to: "promote job creation and economic growth; combat corruption while strengthening good governance and accountability; responsibly improve the capacity of African security and rule of law sectors; and work through diplomatic dialogue to mitigate local and regional tensions before they become crises."[77] The above efforts are aimed at enhancing local capabilities; however, the NSS clearly articulates that efforts should be forged with "effective partnerships" and in the larger context of "global, regional, and national priorities including access to open markets, conflict prevention, global peacekeeping, counterterrorism, and the protection of vital carbon sinks."[78] The strategy argues that the U.S. must also pursue potential "game changers" for development such as new vaccines, weather-resistant seed varieties, and green energy technologies," those initiatives with the ability to significantly affect the trajectory of the world's poorest countries.[79]

The NSS' search for solutions that are "game changers" sets the stage for the need to engage and include those actors with the ability to change the game – women. With regard to women, the NSS is clear in its vision, "Women should have access to the same opportunities and

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[77]Obama, *National Security Strategy*, 45.

[78]Ibid.

[79]Ibid., 34.

be able to make the same choices as men."[80] Toward this end, the U.S. supports women's equal access to justice and the political process; the promotion of child and maternal health; initiatives that combat violence against women and girls, particularly in conflict zones; as well as those that support expand educational and economic opportunities for women.[81]

On December 19, 2011, President Obama released the U.S. National Action Plan (NAP) on Women, Peace, and Security and issued Executive Order 13595, *Instituting a National Action Plan on Women, Peace, and Security*, which directed its implemention.[82] The NAP articulated the nation's initiatve to advance, institutionalize, and coordinate efforts focused on the inclusion and protection of women. The plan specifically aimed to better synchronize the nation's efforts to increase the participation of women in peace processes and decision making; protect women and children from violence, particularly in conflict-affected environments; promote women's roles in conflict prevention; and increase women's access to relief and recovery in conflict affected crises and disasters. Moreover, the executive order called for the Secretary of State, Secretary of Defense, and Administrator of the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) to develop agency specific implementation plans to support the NAP. The Department of State and USAID published their agency implementation plans and both were available on their respective websites. The DOD issued an Implementation Guide on June 1, 2012 and planned to issue a follow-on DOD Instruction in fiscal year 2013 that "will establish policy,

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[80]Ibid., 38.

[81]Ibid.

[82]Barack H. Obama, *Executive Order -- Instituting a National Action Plan On Women, Peace, and Security* (Washington, DC: The White House, 2011), http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2011/12/19/executive-order-instituting-national-action-plan-women-peace-and-securit (accessed April 3, 2013); Barack H. Obama, *United States National Action Plan On Women, Peace, and Security* (Washington, DC: The White House, 2011), http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/email-files/US_National_Action_Plan_on_Women_Peace_and_Security.pdf (accessed April 3, 2013)

assign responsibilities, and provide general procedures for implementation" of the NAP within the department.[83] The current guide is intended to translate NAP objectives into practical activities within the military context, and provides examples and best practices of ways to accomplish the NAP objectives.

The White House elaborated on the guidance it provided in the NSS and the NAP in its June 2012 *U.S. Strategy Toward Sub-Saharan Africa*, a four-pronged strategy aimed at strengthening democratic institutions, spurring economic growth and investment, advancing peace and security, and promoting opportunity and development.[84] The strategy is centered on the notion that "sustainable, inclusive economic growth" is necessary for and perpetuates the type of security, political stability, and development needed to alleviate poverty and create needed resources. Across all objectives, the strategy aimed "to empower marginalized populations and women."[85] Moreover, the strategy reinforced the tenets of the NAP and highlighted initiatives described in the Department of State NAP Implementation Plan, such as the African Women Entrepreneurship Program.[86] The Department of State has not published a publically available document that further amplifies how it will support the Administration's strategy on sub-Saharan Africa; however, during a January 16, 2013 presentation, Ambassador Johnnie Carson, Assistant

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[83]Department of Defense, *Department of Defense Implementation Guide for the U.S. National Action Plan On Women, Peace, and Security* (Washington, DC: DOD, 2012), 4.

[84]Barack H. Obama, *U.S. Strategy Toward Sub-Saharan Africa* (Washington, DC: The White House, 2012), 2-7.

[85]Ibid., 2.

[86]The African Women's Entrepreneurship Program (AWEP) is an outreach, education, and engagement initiative that targets African women entrepreneurs to promote business growth, increase trade both regionally and to U.S. markets through the African Growth and Opportunity Act, create better business environments, and empower African women entrepreneurs to become voices of change in their communities.

Secretary for the Bureau of African Affairs, described how Department actions and initiatives were nested with the overarching strategy.[87]

AFRICOM is the DOD component supporting and implementing guidance from the *U.S. Strategy Toward Sub-Saharan Africa* as well as the January 2012, *Sustaining U.S. Global Leadership: Priorities for 21st Century Defense*, which provides strategic guidance on defense priorities for the next decade. As one of the six geographic combatant commanders, AFRICOM is responsible to the Secretary of Defense for military relations with African nations, the African Union, and African regional security organizations. The command's mission is as follows:

> U.S. Africa Command protects and defends the national security interests of the United States by strengthening the defense capabilities of African states and regional organizations and, when directed, conducts military operations, in order to deter and defeat transnational threats and to provide a security environment conducive to good governance and development.[88]

The command's operations, exercises, and security cooperation programs support U.S. foreign policy primarily through military-to-military activities and assistance programs. The command's activities are executed by six subordinate commands: U.S. Army Africa, U.S. Naval Forces Africa, U.S. Air Forces Africa, U.S. Marine Corps Forces Africa, Combined Joint Task Force-Horn of Africa, and U.S. Special Operations Command Africa. Approximately 2,000 personnel are assigned to the command.[89]

Command activities are anchored by the following Cornerstones: Deter and Defeat Transnational Threats, Protect U.S. Security Interests, Prevent Future Conflicts, and Support

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[87]Johnnie Carson, "U.S.-Africa Partnership: The Last Four Years and Beyond" (speech, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, DC, January 16, 2013), http://www.state.gov/p/af/rls/rm/2013/202943.htm (accessed April 3, 2013).

[88]U.S. Africa Command, *About the Command* (Stuttgart: U.S. Africa Command), http://www.africom.mil/about-the-command (accessed April 3, 2013).

[89]Ibid.

Humanitarian and Disaster Relief.[90] The first is accomplished by "engaging with partners to deter the threat posed by al Qai'da and other extremist organizations, deny them safe haven, and disrupt their destabilizing activities." The nation's security interests are protected by "ensuring the safety of Americans and American interests from transnational threats, and by strengthening the defense capabilities of African states and regional organizations." The third cornerstone is accomplished by "working with African militaries and regional partners to address security concerns and increase stability on the continent." And the final cornerstone is conducted by "providing military assistance, when directed, in response to human and natural crises."[91] These efforts are underpinned by the command's emphasis on the development of capable and professional militaries that respect human rights, adhere to the rule of law, and more effectively contribute to stability on the continent.[92] As of late February 2013, the command website listed two operations, 15 exercises, and two security cooperation assistance programs that it supported.

The policy for sub-Saharan Africa informs what the command must do; however, the fiscal realities, as reflected in the January 2012 defense strategic guidance, inform how these activities will be accomplished – or will continue to be accomplished in the case of AFRICOM. The guidance states, "Whenever possible, we will develop innovative, low-cost, and small-footprint approaches to achieve our security objectives, relying on exercises, rotational presence, and advisory capabilities."[93] This has largely been the story of AFRICOM since its inception in October 2008, as the command has never had forces permanently assigned to it; the majority of

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[90]Ibid.

[91]Ibid.

[92]Ibid.

[93]Department of Defense, *Sustaining U.S. Global Leadership: Priorities for 21st Century Defense*, 3.

the command's activities, mainly capacity building in nature, have been executed by its

subordinate commands.[94] MG Charles Hooper, the Director of Strategy, Plans, and Programs at

AFRICOM argued, "African militaries are receptive to [the use of small training teams to build

the capacity of African militaries], which allows us to cultivate the personal relationships that are

so important to our efforts to deepen institutional partnerships and build self-sustaining security

capacity."[95] In other words, small-scale engagements will continue to be the way the command

conducts capacity building with its African partners based on the fiscal environment and the

relative efficacy and efficiency of the approach.

While none of the operations, exercises, or security cooperation assistance programs

executed by the command specifically focus on the role of women in creating and perpetuating

security, the command has recognized the role of women in engendering peace and security.[96] In

November 2012, the command formally stood up its Women, Peace, and Security Working

Group (WPSWG) which would serve as the focal point to address gender issues and assist with

the NAP implementation of training, operations, exercises, and security cooperation activities.[97]

According to the WPSWG Chair, the working group is in the process of developing a

comprehensive plan to ensure gender considerations were part of the command's strategy and

exercise and security cooperation activities. For the forseeable future, gender-focused initiatives

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[94]Charles W. Hooper, "Going Further by Going Together," *Joint Forces Quarterly* no. 67 (4th quarter 2012): 10.

[95]Ibid.

[96]Staff Sergeant Olufemi A. Owolabi, *U.S. Africa Command Observes International Women's Day* (Stuttgart: U.S. Africa Command, 2012), http://www.africom.mil/Newsroom/Article/8856/us-africa-command-observes-international-womens-da (accessed April 3, 2013); J.R. Warner, *Africa Center, AFRICOM: Empowering Women to Be Agents of Peace* (Washington, DC: U.S. Africa Command, 2012), http://www.africom.mil/Newsroom/Article/9168/africa-center-africom-empowering-women-to-be-agent (accessed April 3, 2013).

[97]COL Caroline Washington, telephone interview by author, February 22, 2013.

would likely continue to be initiated, executed, and resourced by the command's directorates, as there had been no discussions about AFRICOM budgeting for WPSWG initiatives.[98]

Gender-focsued initiatives at the command have largely focused on educating the command on the importance of gender perspectives in the course of providing security. For the example, the command has sponsored film presentations and guest speakers that highlight the unique security challenges women in Africa face.[99] With respect to accounting for women in its security cooperation activities, the AFRICOM J2, specifically the Knowledge Development Directorate focused on socio-cultural analysis and "deep dive" analytical studies, has commissioned several studies specifically related to women in African militaries.[100] Since 2009, the command has sponsored research on sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) in the Great Lakes region, as well as research on how best to provide SGBV training in the armed forces.[101] In September 2012, the Africa Center for Strategic Studies (ACSS) sponsored a workshop focused on the opportunities, challenges, and need for gender mainstreaming in African security forces, and a joint AFRICOM-ACSS initiative assisted the government of Senegal with a year-long project to assess and better integrate women in the Senegalese armed forces.[102] While the African Union, other sub-regional organizations, and African governments have similarly recognized the need, gender-mainstreaming efforts continue to face resistance within African

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[98]Ibid.

[99]Ibid.

[100]The AFRICOM J2 Knowledge Development Directorate commissioned the following studies: *Study of Women in African Militaries* and *Approaches to Military Training to Combat Sexual and Gender Based Violence.* Both were published in December 2011 and are available on the Open Source Center website.

[101]Warner, *Africa Center, AFRICOM: Empowering Women to Be Agents of Peace.*

[102]Ibid.

militaries due to ill-informed perceptions and a lack of propenency within the institutions.[103]

As the U.S. looks to refocus its security posture toward Asia, AFRICOM is similarly trying to balance the operational needs of the current environment with the military activities that are more focused on long-term stability. Ambassador Christopher W. Dell, a former U.S. Ambassador to Angola and Zimbabwe and the command's deputy commander for civil-military activities, described the critical task before the command: "The command is searching to find the right balance between the press of current military operations and the vision of longer-term engagement, helping Africans develop greater capacity for themselves."[104] In January 2013, while testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee regarding the attack on the U.S. consulate in Benghazi, Libya, Secretary Clinton echoed the only increasing demands and importance of the command, "I now think we need to pay much more attention to AFRICOM, to its capacity inside Africa…we're going to see more and more demands on AFRICOM."[105]

Those demands include increased security cooperation activities, most notably seen in the recent formation of regionally aligned Army brigades. The 2nd Brigade Combat Team, 1st Infantry Division (2/1 ID) out of Fort Riley, Kansas was slated to be aligned with AFRICOM in March 2013 to serve as the main force provider for security cooperation and partnership building missions in Africa for one year. 2/1 ID assumed the mission from a brigade from the 10th Mountain Division from Fort Drum, New York, a brigade hand-picked by the Army Chief of Staff, GEN Raymond Odierno, to be the Army's first regionally aligned brigade and the unit that

[103]Ibid.

[104]Eric Schmitt, "Militant Threats Test Role of a Pentagon Command in Africa," *New York Times*, February 11, 2013.

[105]Transcript: Hillary Clinton Senate Hearing On Benghazi, *CNN*, January 23, 2013. http://transcripts.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/1301/23/se.01.html (accessed April 4, 2013).

would lead the initial effort in Africa.[106] As the Division Chief of the Army Security Cooperation

Policy and Concepts Division, COL Andrew Dennis described, the regional alignment concept is

designed to send small platoon- or battalion-size elements to Africa, not an entire brigade at

once.[107] Additionally, units would prepare for missions in the same way they would any other

deployment and receive necessary training on unified land operations, decisive operational skills,

language, etc.[108] As Dennis described, "units will provide security cooperation-type capability to

the [combatant command] to which they were aligned…[and capabilities include] security-force-

assistance missions, familiarization, military contact, and support of combined exercise."[109]

According to David Barno, a retired Army lieutenant general who serves as a senior adviser and

senior fellow with the Center for New American Security think tank, regionally aligned brigades'

activities, particularly in Africa, were in a unique position, because small-scale operations would

likely become the norm, and these units' activities could serve as the prototype for "light footprint

operations" conducted else.[110]

As the 2012 Army Posture Statement described, the ability to prevent conflict is

predicated on "agile, adaptive leaders; versatile units; realistic training and modern equipment.

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[106]John Vandiver, "AFRICOM First to Test New Regional Brigade Concept," *Stars and Stripes*, May 17, 2012.

[107]Ibid.

[108]C. Todd Lopez, "Dagger Brigade to 'align' with Africom in 2013," *Army News Service*, June 21, 2012. http://www.army.mil/article/82376/Dagger_Brigade_to__align__with_AFRICOM_in_2013 (accessed April 3, 2013).

[109]Ibid.

[110]Marcus Weisgerber, "Pentagon Increases Focus On Africom," *DefenseNews*, January 30, 2013. http://www.defensenews.com/article/20130130/DEFREG04/301300017/Pentagon-Increases-Focus-AFRICOM (accessed April 3, 2013).

Prevention is achieved through credible readiness, sometimes requiring decisive action."[111]

Therefore, the effective and efficient employment of FETs in times of conflict require U.S. military members to be proficient in FET capabilities and limitations *before* conflicts arise. In an era where it can be more dangerous to be a woman than a solider, the U.S. military needs the most agile and adaptive leaders to comprehend the emergent property of such environments.[112]

The AFRICOM Commander GEN Carter Ham recently argued that a large U.S. military presence in Africa would not appropriate nor "particularly helpful" toward achieving the shared security objectives of the U.S. and its African allies.[113] Therefore, the operating environment has placed restrictions on the form in which U.S. security activities in Africa will be conducted – in this case that form is small, but no less capable. One way to ensure the units were at least, if not more capable, than their relatively larger forms would be to ensure they were better informed of the local dynamics affecting the security environment – information that may be uniquely accessible to FETs. In complex environments that require the use of fewer resources, performing what Prussian military theorist Carl von Clausewitz described as the first and most important determination a commander and statesmen could make: "to establish the kind of war on which they are embarking, neither mistaking it for, nor trying to turn it into something that is alien to its

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[111]U.S. Army, *2012 Army Posture,* 4. The 2012 Army Posture Statement described the three essential roles of the Army as the following: to prevent conflict, shape the international environment to enable U.S. Combatant Commanders to assure its friends and contain its enemies, and be ready to win decisively and dominantly.

[112]Victoria Pynchon "More Dangerous to Be a Woman Than a Soldier," *Forbes*, December 4, 2011. http://www.forbes.com/sites/shenegotiates/2011/10/04/more-dangerous-to-be-a-woman-than-a-soldier/ (accessed April 3, 2013).

[113]U.S. AFRICOM Public Affairs, "General Ham: Small, Tailored U.s. Military Presence Best for Supporting African Nations," U.S. AFRICOM Public Affairs, March 26, 2013. http://www.africom.mil/Newsroom/Article/10549/general-ham-small-tailored-us-military-presence-best-for-supporting-african-nations (accessed April 3, 2013).

nature," cannot be done without consulting half of the population.[114]

U.S. service members can only be adaptive and agile in responding to the unique challenges women face in conflicts if they have been cognitively exposed to the logic of gender violence and are knowledgeable of the ways and means through which to analyze and mitigate such violence. The U.S. Army's regionally aligned brigade deployments to the continent could provide the type of realistic training that demonstrates the necessity and value of employing FETs in support of unit, country, and region-specific objectives. As these deployments are short in time duration. Based on the nature of these deployments, the true benefit of the FETs is in their ability to cultivate critical and creative leaders through realistic training scenarios and environments. Forcing U.S. and African units to think through how they would address sexual gender based violence in a conflict situation – particularly if these crimes were being conducted by the U.S. partner nation's security forces – would be a novel take on "decisive action" in the course of prevention.

CASE STUDY: MAGHREB

The purpose of this section is to provide an overview of the Maghreb region, outline the scope of U.S. interests in the region, and identify security challenges threatening stability across the region. The first part provides an overview of the region's population and uses development rankings to illustrate some of the region's economic and social challenges. The next two parts describe why the Maghreb is critical to U.S. security interests, particularly after the widespread political changes following the initial activities of the Arab Spring. The fourth part describes AFRICOM activities in the region, and this section concludes with recommendations about how a FET could be employed to support AFRICOM's regional objectives in the Maghreb.

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[114]Carl von Clausewitz. *On War*. ed. Michael Howard and Peter Paret (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976), 88.

The Maghreb refers to the area comprised of Morocco, Algeria, Libya, Tunisia, Mauritania, and the Western Sahara.[115] With exception of Libya that was an Italian colony, the rest of the Maghreb shares a common history as French colonies. With a combined population of nearly 90 million, this vast space covers over two million square miles in North Africa. Not surprisingly, the majority of those living in the Maghreb practice Islam as all of its countries have either Islam or Sunni Islam as its state religion. Additionally, with exception of Libya whose legal system is to be determined, the rest of the Maghreb formally adheres to a mixture of French civil and Islamic law.[116] The region which is predominated by Arabs, Berbers, and people of a mixed race between the two, faces unique social and economic challenges. According to the 2012 HDI Rankings, Libya, Tunisia, and Algeria in the High Human Development category, Morocco one echelon lower in the Medium Human Development, and Mauritania in the lowest category of Low Human Development.[117] Discrepancies in literacy rates depict a different aspect of the story, with rates among the five countries averaging a 17.6 point difference between literacy rates for women and men.[118] Besides language and literacy rates, access to the Maghreb is further complicated by the percentage of the population living in urban areas, just 37 percent across the region, as opposed to 82 percent and 85 percent in the U.S. and France, respectively.[119]

In October 2012, Secretary Clinton discussed the importance of the Maghreb, particularly

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[115]With exception of the land mass and population statistic, the rest of the figures do not include the figures of the Western Sahara, because statistical information for the region was not uniformly available.

[116]Central Intelligence Agency, *The World Factbook* (Washington, DC: CIA), https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ml.html (accessed April 3, 2013).

[117]United Nations Development Programme, *2013 Human Development Report*, 152-55,

[118]Central Intelligence Agency, *The World Factbook*.

[119]Ibid.

as the region continued to undergo democratic transitions. She argued that what happened in the

Maghreb had far-reaching consequences for U.S. security and prosperity, "For the United States,

supporting democratic transitions is not a matter of idealism. It is a strategic necessity."[120] This

was in part based on the interconnectedness between political and security challenges in North

African and those in the Middle East. Secretary Clinton articulated the need for a broader view

that placed the actions of a few extremists in their proper context. She described how, "instead of

letting mobs and extremists speak for entire countries, we should listen to what the elected

governments and free citizens are saying. They want more freedom, more justice, more

opportunity – not more violence. And they want better relations not only with the United States,

but with the world – not worse."[121]

Secretary Clinton outlined a three-prong approach centered on improving security,

mechanisms for economic inclusion, and strengthening democratic institutions and advancing

political reforms to capitalize on the nascent yet native desires and actions that supported

democratic ideals and universal rights. She pointed to the role civil society played in trying to

address gender equality in the new Tunisian constitution, as well as the effect popular pressure

had on Morocco's leadership which ultimately resulted in constitutional reforms and expanded

parliamentary authorities.[122] Secretary Clinton acknowledged the work was difficult in and of

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[120]Hillary R. Clinton, "Democratic Transitions in the Maghreb" (speech, Center for
Strategic and International Studies, Washington, DC, October 12, 2012),
http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2012/10/199102.htm (accessed April 3, 2013).

[121]Ibid.

[122]UN News Centre, "Tunisia Must Adopt Stronger Measures to Combat Gender
Discrimination – Un Experts," *UN News Centre*, January 14, 2013.
http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=43915#.UVzigr9stAQ (accessed April 3, 2013);
Aida Alami and Miriam Fam, "Moroccan Voters Approve Draft Constitution Giving More Power
to Parliament," *Bloomberg*, July 1, 2011. http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2011-06-
30/moroccans-vote-on-constitution-giving-more-power-to-parliament.html (accessed April 3,

itself and would be even more difficult in a region that was collectively reframing its understandings of government, security, and social norms.[123]

As people across the Maghreb re-conceptualize their societies and their place in it, they are also grappling with women's rights and what that term should actually mean, if anything at all. Isobel Coleman, a Senior Fellow with the Council on Foreign Relations and Director of the Civil Society, Markets and Democracy Initiative, and the Women and Foreign Policy Program, argued women's rights are a divisive issue as nations tackle the tasks of state-building and reconstruction following the Arab Spring. For those looking in, however, Coleman argued one could understand the likelihood of long-term stability in accordance with western norms of freedom of religion and speech by looking at how women's rights were treated:

> The protection of women's rights is a critical bellwether of countries' broader commitment to pluralism. How women fare will be an important marker of whether religious and ethnic minority groups can expect equal citizenship under the new systems and whether freedom of speech and religion will be respected.[124]

Initiatives to address gender equality in the region have already experienced setback due to restrictions placed on foreign funding in support of civil society, particularly women's groups, and non-governmental organizations.[125] Moreover, common understanding of the problem even before action is possible could be challenged due to the need to incorporate a diverse set of views, to include those of women interested in advancing women's rights through an Islamic

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[123]Clinton, "Democratic Transitions in the Maghreb."

[124]Isobel Coleman, "Ensuring Opportunities for Women" (London: United Nations Association-UK, 2012), http://www.una.org.uk/sites/default/files/UNA-UK%20After%20the%20Spring%203%20of%203.pdf (accessed April 3, 2013).

[125]Human Rights Watch, "Egypt: Government Moves to Restrict Rights and Democracy Groups," *Human Rights Watch*, September 26, 2011. http://www.hrw.org/news/2011/09/26/egypt-government-moves-restrict-rights-and-democracy-groups (accessed April 3, 2013).

framework.[126]

The Arab Spring, the political and social awakening in North Africa that resulted in significant political reforms throughout the Maghreb, ushered in a new era for the region. However, it also immediately highlighted the deficiency of the region's governing and security institutions. Heavy-handed authoritarian regimes were able to effectively suppress militant Islamic groups in North Africa; however, the governments' inability and unwillingness to address the roots of extremism in the region including poverty, political marginalization, and social alienation facilitated new waves of recruitment for jihad.[127] Further complicating the security challenges in the Maghreb are the similar governance and security challenges faced by its neighbors just to the south, principally Niger, Mali, and Chad. One such organization that has long aimed to capitalize on the widespread disenfranchisement and swathes of ungoverned space in an attempt to become a transnational movement across the Maghreb and Sahel areas is al Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM).

According to Andre LeSage, a Senior Research Fellow for Africa at the Institute for National Strategic Studies, AQIM emanated from Algeria's decade-long conflict with Islamists in the 1990s and is the only significant militia force to have survived from that struggle.[128] AQIM was created in 2007 when the Salafist Group for Preaching Combat (GSPC) pledged allegiance to AQ. Since then, AQIM has tried to evolve into the umbrella organization encompassing the

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[126]Coleman, "Ensuring Opportunities for Women." Associated Press "Egypt's Muslim 'Sisters' Rise with Conservative Vision," *USA Today*, November 12, 2012. http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2012/11/10/egypt-muslim-women-politics/1696291/ (accessed April 3, 2013).

[127]Andre LeSage, *Africa's Irregular Security Threats: Challenges for U.S. Engagement* (Washington, DC: National Defense University, 2010), http://www.ndu.edu/inss/docuploaded/SF255_LeSage.pdf (accessed April 3, 2013).

[128]Ibid.

militants and communities who initially supported the region's Islamist militant groups, to include the Libyan Islamic Fighting Group, Moroccan Islamic Combat Group, Tunisian Islamic Front, Mauritanian Group for Preaching and Jihad, among others.[129] AQIM was long regarded as not much more than a regional kidnapping and criminal enterprise; however, the Arab Spring changed that. According to Mike Shurkin, a former Central Intelligence Agency analyst, the Arab spring flooded the region with people, resources, and energy and attracted foreign jihadists who helped to give local organizations an international character.[130] In December 2012, GEN Ham expressed his concern regarding the indications of increased collaboration between AQIM and other Islamic militants on the continent and in the Middle East:

> We're seeing indications of increased communication, of training, sharing funding and weapons between a number of groups which are well-known to this audience: al-Qaida in the Lands of the Islamic Maghreb, which works in north and western Africa; al-Shabab in Somalia; Boko Haram, while not specifically an al-Qaida affiliate affiliated organization, but in Nigeria; and certainly just across the Gulf of Aden, al-i in the Arabian Peninsula, which is based in Yemen. All of those have worked together to strengthen this network, which I think poses an increasing threat to good order and security and stability across the region.[131]

According to the West Point Combating Terrorism Center, AQIM's ultimate objective remains

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[129]Ibid.

[130]Greg Miller and Joby Warrick, "Although Splintered, Al-Qaeda Finds New Life in Unstable Areas," *Washington Post*, February 2, 2013. http://articles.washingtonpost.com/2013-02-02/world/36698995_1_al-qaeda-qaeda-cia-drone-strikes (accessed April 3, 2013).

[131]U.S. AFRICOM Public Affairs, "Transcript: General Ham Discusses U.S. AFRICOM Objectives and Africa Security Issues at Brown University," U.S. AFRICOM Public Affairs, December 19, 2012. http://www.africom.mil/Newsroom/Transcript/10176/transcript-general-ham-discusses-us-africom-object (accessed April 3, 2013). Boko Haram, which translates to "Western education is forbidden," is a Nigeria-based group that seeks to overthrow the current Nigerian Government and replace it with a regime based on Islamic law. Al Shabaab, which translates to "The Youth," is a clan-based insurgent and terrorist group conducting a violent insurgency in southern and central Somalia. According to the National Counterterrorism Center, most of Al Shabaab's fighters are predominantly interested in the nationalistic battle against the Transitional Federal Government and not supportive of global jihad. However, the group's senior leadership is affiliated with AQ and is believed to have trained and fought in Afghanistan.

unclear, but generally the organization aims to depose governments in North Africa deemed

insufficiently Islamic, rid the Maghreb and the Sahara of foreigners, particularly the French and

the Americans, and install fundamentalist regimes based on Islamic law.[132] A number of factors

have caused a shift in AQIM's operational hub further south into the Sahelian and Saharan

region, particularly Mali, Niger, and Chad. These included Algerian military actions against

AQIM, in part facilitated by an increase in popular support for such efforts; disjointed

counterterrorism operations by the governments of Mali, Niger, and Mauritania; and inadequate

governance throughout the region.[133] Described as the wealthiest AQ-affiliated organization,

AQIM has benefitted from its collaboration with illicit trafficking and criminal networks that

have long existed on the continent.[134] AQIM claimed responsibility for the December 2007

attack on United Nations offices in Algiers in which killed dozens, and Secretary Clinton

suggested a link between the organization and the attack on the U.S. consulate in Benghazi, Libya

that killed the U.S. ambassador in September 2012.[135] Most recently, the organization worked

with local Islamist militants against the Malian government and secured control of the country's

sparsely populated north. Such actions drove the U.S. to sign a Status of Forces Agreement with

Niger in January 2013 that would clear the way for creating an intelligence hub in the country, to

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[132]Geoff D. Porter, *AQIM's Objectives in North Africa* (West Point: Combating Terrorism Center, 2011), http://www.ctc.usma.edu/posts/aqim's-objectives-in-north-africa (accessed April 3, 2013).

[133]William Thornby and Jaclyn Levy, *Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb* (Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2011), http://csis.org/files/publication/110901_Thornberry_AQIM_WEB.pdf (accessed April 3, 2013).

[134]U.S. AFRICOM Public Affairs, "Transcript: General Ham Discusses U.S. AFRICOM Objectives and Africa Security Issues at Brown University."

[135]Johnathan Masters, *Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM)* (Washington, DC: Council on Foreign Relations, 2013), http://www.cfr.org/north-africa/al-qaeda-islamic-maghreb-aqim/p12717#p7 (accessed April 3, 2013); Steven Lee Meyers, "Clinton Suggests Link to Qaeda Offshoot in Deadly Libya Attack," *New York Times*, September 26, 2012.

include a base near the Malian border that would support American drones monitoring Islamic extremists in northern Mali.[136] In general, however, U.S. options are limited in the region where the U.S. has fewer intelligence resources and resolute counterterrorism allies, such as the deposed Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak.

Figure 2. Zone of AQIM Influence.

Source: Africa Center for Strategic Studies

GEN Ham described command activities to counter such threats as a combination of security force assistance, assisting African states establish control over undergoverned territories, direct military activity, as needed. The command also provided material support to ensure partner nation forces were properly equipped, while encouraging regional cooperation and intelligence

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[136]Adam Entous and Siobhan Gorman, "U.S. to Expand Role in Africa," *Wall Street Journal*, January 29, 2013. http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424127887323644904578270374130708196.html (accessed April 4, 2013).

sharing to increase effectiveness.[137] The scope of command activities in the region is diverse, and two initiatives at seemingly opposite ends of the spectrum are described below.

AFRICOM sponsors the Magharebia website (http://www.magharebia.com) which serves as a central source of new and information about the region in three languages: English, French, and Arabic. Reporting on the top news in the countries of Libya, Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, and Mauritania, the website aims to offer "accurate, balanced and forward-looking coverage of developments in the Maghreb."[138] Since 2007, the command has also sponsored a Magharebia.com Writers Workshop each year which introduces newly hired journalists to established contributors to the Magharebia website. The event aims to provide networking and collaboration opportunities, while introducing media tools and technology and emphasizing the importance of sound journalistic principles and practices for writing, blogging, and podcasting.[139]

In 2005, the State Department initiated the Trans-Sahara Counterterrorism Initiative, which has since been renamed the Trans-Sahara Counterterrorism Partnership (TSCTP). The partnership is a multi-year interagency effort to assist countries in West and North Africa increase their immediate and long-term capabilities to address terrorist threats. The TSCTP aims to build long-term capacities to contain and marginalize terrorist organizations and facilitation networks; disrupt efforts to recruit, train, and provision terrorists and extremists; counter efforts to establish safe havens for terrorist organizations; and frustrate extremist attempts to influence populations

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[137]GEN Carter Ham, *Posture Statement of U.S. Africa Command* (Washington, DC: U.S. Africa Command, 2012), 11.

[138]U.S. Africa Command, "Maghrebia," Maghrebia, http://magharebia.com/en_GB/pages/about (accessed April 4, 2013).

[139]Deborah Robin Croft, "Journalists from Maghreb Attend Writers Workshop in Tunisia," U.S. AFRICOM Public Affairs, August 4, 2010. http://www.africom.mil/NEWSROOM/Article/7595/journalists-from-maghreb-attend-writers-workshop-i (accessed April 4, 2013).

potentially vulnerable to radicalization.[140] TSCTP has grown over the years to include the

following 10 countries: Algeria, Burkina Faso, Chad, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Morocco, Nigeria,

Senegal, and Tunisia. The DOD efforts in support of the State Department-led TSTCP are

conducted by the Joint Special Operations Task Force-Trans Sahara (JSOTF-TS), which is an

organization aligned under U.S. Special Operations Africa.[141]

JSOTF-TS also conducts Exercise FLINTLOCK, an exercise that aims to establish and

develop cooperative relationships among TSCTP member countries by "strengthening security

institutions, promoting multilateral sharing of information, and facilitating informal network

building."[142] In 2011, JSOTF-TS worked with the Trans-Saharan Security Symposium (TSS) to

expand the scope of Exercise FLINTLOCK beyond tactical and operational planning and to

include two high-level working engagements, the Counterterrorism Engagement and Senior

Leader Symposium. The TSS is an AFRICOM-sponsored civil-military operations training

program that brings leading African civil-military experts and practitioners from security focused

sub-regional organizations to lead participants in identifying interagency and regional

mechanisms to counter threats such as terrorism; trafficking in humans, weapons and drugs; and

religious extremism.[143]

While the countries in the Maghreb continue to work through the ramifications and

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[140]Johnnie Carson, *State's Carson at Senate Hearing On Developments in Mali* (Washington, DC: Department of State, 2012), http://iipdigital.usembassy.gov/st/english/texttrans/2012/12/20121205139633.html#axzz2PT04rJks (accessed April 4, 2013).

[141]Max R. Blumenfeld, "Training in Trans-Sahara Africa," *JSOTF-TS Public Affairs*, December 13, 2010. http://www.africom.mil/Newsroom/Article/7896/training-in-trans-sahara-africa (accessed April 4, 2013).

[142]Andrea Walthar, "Flintlock 11 and TSS Expand Trans-Sahara Counterterrorism Cooperation Approach," *USASOC News Service*, March 7, 2011. http://www.soc.mil/UNS/Releases/2011/March/110307-01.html (accessed April 4, 2013).

[143]Ibid.

implications of the Arab Spring, the recent instability just south of the Maghreb has similarly

caused the U.S. to rethink its own paradigms about security cooperation. As Ambassador

Amanda Dory, the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for African affairs described, the

situation in Mali imparted two important lessons for future U.S. security cooperation efforts: a

focus on capacity and capability building is insufficient without a shared sense of will, and in

order to ensure that professionalism, ethics, human rights training and strategic thinking are

institutionalized, they must be areas of engagement at the institutional level.[144] According to the

2012 Army Posture Statement, Shape activities include working with partner nations to build the

capacity to defend themselves. Based on Ambassador Dory's comments, however, notions of

defense capacities should demonstrate an equal appreciation for the external and internal, as well

as physical and cognitive, threats to a stable government.

FETs may prove a useful regionally focused medium through which to institutionalize the

importance of gender perspectives when considering security. The author is not suggesting that

these "softer" defense skills should be relegated to FETs. However, the necessity of these skills

presents a unique opportunity for FETs to play a leading role in engaging and developing another

50 percent – the remaining half of the skills needed to be a professional service member. As the

people of the Maghreb reframe their personal understandings of security, discussions of

professionalism, ethics, and gender security are a natural professional extension of the debates

taking place across the region. As the Posture Statement described, shaping activities are meant

to "cultivate positive relationships before they are needed." In the Maghreb context, U.S.

security-focused engagement efforts need to take a broader scope yet recognize the fleeting

nature of this unique opportunity in time. As Secretary Clinton described, "it takes changes in

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[144]Claudette Roulo, "Mali's Lessons Inform Future Partnership Efforts, Official Says,"
American Forces Press Service, February 14, 2013.
http://www.defense.gov/news/newsarticle.aspx?id=119300 (accessed April 4, 2013).

mindsets to make those [democratic] reforms stick" – reforms that are necessary if relationships are to be truly positive.[145]

CASE STUDY: MALI

The purpose of this section is to provide an overview of Mali's current political, economic, and security challenges, while placing the seemingly recent sources insecurity in their proper historical context. The first part aimed to familiarize the reader with Mali politically, socially, and economically, which was followed by an elaboration on some of the most challenging divisions within the country. The Tuaregs have played a unique role in Malian history, and the third portion explored the history of relations between the Tuareg and Bamako. This discussion was followed by an examination of the circumstances and regional implications of the 2012 coup and Islamist extremist takeover of northern Mali. The fifth portion specifically looked at the plight of Malian women and the ways in which the current conflict has disproportionately affected them based solely on their gender and as primary caregivers in Malian society. This section ends with a recommendation about how FETs could be employed to support AFRICOM's immediate security objectives in Mali.

Mali is a West African country that gained its independence from France in 1960 after 80 years of French control. Known as the Sudanese Republic under the French, the republic and Senegal were briefly united as the Mali Federation upon decolonization. The unification was brief, and when Senegal withdrew after only a couple of months, the former Sudanese Republic was named the Republic of Mali.[146] Until 1992, Mali was a one-party socialist state run by Moussa Traore. Amadou Toumani Touré (ATT) led the country during its transition to democracy, and was subsequently elected to serve Mali's president in 2002 and 2007; ATT was

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[145]Clinton, "Democratic Transitions in the Maghreb."

overthrown by a coup in March 2012.

With a land area of just over 460,000 square miles, Mali is approximately twice the land size of Texas and has a population of near 15.5 million people. Ninety percent of the country lives in the country's southern triangle, while the northern part of Mali which accounts for two-thirds of its land mass is sparsely populated desert.[147] Ninety percent of Malians practice Islam, and the remainder of the population practices tradition beliefs. The country's official language is French; however, 80 percent of the country speaks Bambara, the language of the ethnic majority.[148] As of 2010, just 36 percent of Malians lived in urban areas which further complicated access to education, healthcare, and other social services.[149] With such a large percentage of the population living outside of the cities, physical access is limited to a road network of approximately 11,750 miles, which includes pave and unpaved roads. By comparison, the U.S., which is nearly eight times the size of Mali, has 344 times more miles of paved and unpaved roads.[150]

Previously heralded as the model of democracy in West Africa, Mali's human development and economic indicators painted a different picture of the country's progress. Of the 186 countries ranked in the 2012 UNDP Human Development Index, Mali ranked just above

[147]North Mali refers to the regions of Gao, Kidal, and Timbuktu.

[148]Central Intelligence Agency, *Mali Fact Sheet*.

[149]Central Intelligence Agency, *Urbanization Fact Sheet* (Washington, DC, 2013), https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2212.html (accessed April 3, 2013).

[150]Central Intelligence Agency, *Roadways* (Washington, DC, 2013), https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2085.html (accessed April 3, 2013); The U.S. has 6,506,204 square kilometers of road (paved and unpaved), and Mali has a combined 18,912. The U.S. has a land area of 9,826,675 square kilometers, while an area of 1,240,192 square kilometers.

last place at 182, seven spots down from 2011.[151] Thirty-one percent of the population is literate, but a 13-point discrepancy between men and women, 43 and 20 percent, respectively, sheds light on the inequity of access to education across genders.[152] Economically, the overwhelming majority of Malians earn their livelihood from agricultural activities with cotton and livestock as two of the country's main exports. Government efforts to privatize arable land in order to lease it to foreign agri-investors has caused consternation, as communities' informal, albeit traditional and historial, land rights were largely being ignored in the process. Moreover, despite initial assurances the efforts would increase the food security, nearly half of the leased lands were expected to be used for agrofuels.[153] Land privatization, and as a result land rights and foreign investment, was expected to be a significant issue in the next election, particularly as the Syndicate of Peasants in Mali, a rural civil society group in southern Mali, announced their support for the military junta that led the coup in March 2012 – a move that serves to legitimize both groups' grievances.[154]

Gold production has dominated Mali's largely underdeveloped mineral sector.[155] Gold

[151]United Nations Development Programme, *2013 Human Development Report*, 152-55.

[152]Central Intelligence Agency, *Mali Fact Sheet*.

[153]Charlie Provost, "Foreign Investment in Mali's Arable Land Jumps by 60%," *Guardian*, November 17, 2011. http://www.guardian.co.uk/global-development/2011/nov/17/foreign-investment-mali-land-report (accessed April 4, 2013); Brandon County and Brian Peterson, "Why Are Mali's Rural Peasants Supporting the Coup?" *Think Africa Press*, April 3, 2012. http://thinkafricapress.com/mali/coup-neoliberal-peasant-cnrdr-sanogo-att (accessed April 4, 2013).

[154]Ibid.

[155]Sri Jegarajah, "Miners in Mali Dodge Conflict, Risks 'manageable' for Now," *CNBC*, January 14, 2013. http://www.cnbc.com/id/100379021/Miners_in_Mali_Dodge_Conflict_Risks_039Manageable039_for_Now (accessed April 4, 2013). According to the U.S. Geological Services, Mali's vast undeveloped mineral resources included bauxite, chromium, copper, granite, gypsum, iron ore, kaolinite, lead, lithium, manganese, marble, nickel, niobium, palladium, phosphate rock, rutile,

accounted for nearly 70 percent of Mali's export revenues and 15 percent of its gross domestic product; however, human rights groups have noted the harsh working conditions and social costs associated with artisanal mining – a phenomenon that would likely be exacerbated by increased mineral exploration activities and similarly lax government oversight.[156] As the examples of the land privatization and gold mining efforts demonstrate, the success of Mali's economic endeavors is directly related to its (in)ability to mitigate the social costs of those activities.

Any map of Africa clearly shows the environmental differences between the desert and semi-arid north and the where the continent's terrain and weather patterns are better able to support agricultural activities in sub-Saharan Africa. This delineation splits Mali and its people in half, literally and figuratively. Despite having over 11 different ethnic groups, the largest division between Malians is between those living in the north that are physically and culturally more similar to their neighbors in the Maghreb, and the ethnic groups in the south that are more similar to other sub-Saharan black Africans. The north-south delineation roughly occurs across the country from Timbuktu to Gao and follows the flow of the Niger River. Those living south of the informal border have traditionally lived a sedentary lifestyle based on an agricultural livelihood, while many in the north have lived a traditionally nomadic and pastoral lifestyle.

Mali's main ethnic groups are the Mande, Peuhl, Voltaic, Songhai, Toureg, and Moor. Approximately 50 percent of Malians are Mande, an ethnicity that includes the Bambara, Malinke, and Soninke people groups and shares characteristics of black sub-Saharans. The Peuhl, also called Fula or Fulani are an ethnic group spread across western African and comprise 17

silver, talc, thorium, tin, titanium, tungsten, uranium, and zirconium.

[156]Mali Interim Govt Raises Gold Sales Tax, *Reuters*, May 17, 2012. http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/05/17/mali-gold-idUSL5E8GHH1X20120517 (accessed April 4, 2013); Human Rights Watch, *A Poisonous Mix: Child Labor, Mercury, and Artisanal Gold Mining in Mali* (Washington, DC: Human Rights Watch, 2011), 39, http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/mali1211_forinsertWebUpload_0_0.pdf (accessed April 4, 2013).

percent of Malians. The Voltaic comprise another 12 percent, the Songhai percent, and together the Tuareg and the Moor are percent of the country's population. The Tuareg and Moor are concentrated in the north, and the physical distance compounded by their nomadic, pastoral lifestyle resulted in the Tuareg never being fully enveloped under the French umbrella of control, and thus development.

Concentrated in central and southern Mali along the middle Niger Valley, the Bambara are the country's largest and most dominant ethnic group. Their proximity to Bamako, the nation's capital, and their access to Western education during colonization, in part due to their sedentary and agricultural livelihoods, has enabled the Bambara to dominate the country's political life.[157] Upon decolonization, France transferred Mali's administration to the Bambara elites and failed to fulfill Tuareg elites' expectations about a French initiative that would have created a separate Saharan political entity. This state would have included the northernmost Malian regions of Kidal, Gao, and Timbuktu, a region the Tuareg refer to as Azawad. Instead, the Tuareg found themselves incorporated into the newly independent country which historically, and which they believed would continue to, inadequately integrate the north socially, politically, and economically.[158]

In order to understand Mali's current security challenges, ones need to understand the struggle that has existed between Bamako and the northern part of the country since independence, particularly with its Tuareg population. Inequalities originated during the colonial period, but continued episodes of conflict indicate "that no definitive settlement has been found

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[157]Minority Rights Group International, "World Directory of Minorities and Indigenous Peoples - Mali: Overview," UNHCR Refworld, http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/4954ce5bc.html (accessed April 4, 2013).

[158]Baz Lecocq, "That Desert is Our Country," doctoral thesis, Amsterdam University (2002), quoted in International Crisis Group, *Mali: Avoiding Escalation, Crisis Group Africa Report N°189*, (Brussels: International Crisis Group, 2012), 2.

for these structural problems…each new episode had its own dynamics but was related to the previous one," according to analysis by the International Crisis Group.[159] Unresolved conflicts have also served to entrench prejudices, particularly racially charged ones that have never been too far from the national discourse (i.e. Tuaregs are "whites, slave owners, lazy," while sub-Saharans are "black, unsophisticated, and submissive").[160]

Mali has had three significant periods of conflict between the north and the south in its just over 50 years of existence, all of which have included the Tuareg. In 1998, a then lieutenant colonel in the Malian Army attending the U.S. Army War College argued, "The most substantial challenge to Mali's stability since independence has been insurgency by Tuareg peoples."[161] However, in examining successive Tuareg rebellions as manifestations of previously unaddressed grievances, it helps to understand how Bamako's deficiencies contributed to and entrenched a Tuareg narrative about institutional discrimination and marginalization.

> With each conflict, memories of unpunished crimes that were not officially recognized in the past resurface. Stories of massacres, the poisoning of wells and forced exile from 1963, and the bloody settling of scores carried out by pro-government militias against Tuareg civilians in the 1990s are passed down to each new generation of fighters and shape the collective memory of a history marked by violence and suffering.[162]

Arguably, the greatest prospects for peace seemed within reach in April 1992 when several rounds of negotiation between Bamako and the disjointed northern and Tuareg movements resulted in the signing of an Algerian-mediated peace agreement known as the National Pact. The pact aimed to provide "the framework within which a just and final peace is

[159]International Crisis Group, *Mali: Avoiding Escalation, Crisis Group Africa Report N°189*, (Brussels: International Crisis Group, 2012), 2.

[160]Lecocq, *Mali: Avoiding Escalation, Crisis Group Africa Report N°189*, 2.

[161]LTC Kalifa Keita "Conflict and Conflict Resolution in the Sahel: The Tuareg Insurgency in Mali" (MA diss., U.S. Army War College, 1998), 6, in Strategic Studies Institute, http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pdffiles/pub200.pdf (accessed April 4, 2013).
[162]Lecocq, *Mali: Avoiding Escalation, Crisis Group Africa Report N°189*, 2.

restored in the North of Mali with national reconciliation between all Malians."[163] The plan

promised the north would be gradually demilitarized, an economic plan would be devised to

mitigate the disproportionate investment in the region, and Bamako would increase the regional

authorities. The failed implementation of the National Pact, combined with disenfranchised

Tuareg members of the Malian Army, and new periods of drought, ultimately resulted in the third

Tuareg rebellion that began in 2006.[164] Algeria once again led mediation efforts between

Bamako and the north which resulted in the signing of the Algiers Accord in July 2006.

Delays in implementing the 2006 agreeement saw the resumption in attacks against

Malian forces, and in an effort to weaken the north's support base, Malian President ATT created

two militias, one Arab-led and one Tuareg-led. These forces were recruited from northern

communities that were amenable to working with Bamako, and ATT used these militias to

conduct counterinsurgency operations against factions in the north. Concurrently, ethnic

communities coalesced around new and old militias and personalities that recycled and updated

previous grievances for the current conflict. Bamako's strategy for governing the north, which

consisted of little more than creating irregular armed factions that temporarily neutralized each

other, served to perpetuate insecurity versus address it.[165]

The current situation in Mali is shaped by three overlapping crises: political uncertainty

after a military coup led by a U.S. trained Malian officer deposed the democratically elected

president on March 22, 2012, the takeover of the northern parts of the country by a loose alliance

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[163]*National Pact Concluded between the Government of Mali and the Unified Movements Fronts of Azawad Giving Expression to the Special Status of Northern Mali* (Bamako:1992), 1, https://peaceaccords.nd.edu/site_media/media/accords/Mali_Peace_Accord-proof.pdf (accessed April 4, 2013).

[164]International Crisis Group, *Mali: Avoiding Escalation, Crisis Group Africa Report N°189*, 3.
[165]Ibid., 4.

of separatists and Islamists following the power vacuum in Bamako, and the effect both have had on an already food insecure environment.[166] The insecurity was in part fueled by the fall of the Qaddafi regime in Libya which saw thousands of Tuareg mercenaries return to northern Mali armed with weapons and expectations; however, the underpinnings of that insecurity: corruption, deteriorating governance, and a general lack of confidence in formal institutions, were present in Mali long before the rebels arrived, or some instances returned.[167] Additionally, according to participants at the 2013 Marrakech Security Forum, Bamako's failure to "respond to the aspirations of large groups of the population, its inability to impose control over the entire national territory, and the spread of poverty were the main reasons behind the current crisis."[168] During an August 2012 trip through Africa, Secretary Clinton commented on the economic effects of the conflict and argued, "By some estimates, this could set back Mali's economic progress by nearly a decade."[169]

Regional leaders have expressed concern that opportunistic Islamic extremists will similarly try to capitalize on disenfranchised groups and ungoverned spaces throughout the Sahel. According to former Mauritanian minister, Vall Ould Bilal, Mali's challenges with its Tuareg population are not unique to the country and others with sizeable Tuareg populations, such as

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[166]John Campbell, "Mali Conflict: Three Things to Know," Council on Foreign Relations, http://www.cfr.org/mali/mali-conflict-three-things-know/p29824 (accessed April 4, 2013)

[167]Ibid.; Scott Straus, *Mali and Its Sahelian Neighbors* (The World Bank, 2011), 1.

[168]Mawassi Lahcen, "Sahel-Saharan Turmoil Poses Global Threat," *Magharebia*, February 1, 2013. http://magharebia.com/en_GB/articles/awi/reportage/2013/02/01/reportage-01 (accessed April 4, 2013). The forum brought together 200 military and security leaders from 67 countries.

[169]Andrew Quinn, "Clinton Says Africa Must Live up to Democratic Promise," *Reuters*, August 1, 2012. http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/08/01/us-clinton-africa-idUSBRE8700XO20120801 (accessed April 4, 2013).

Algeria, Libya, Niger, and Burkina Faso, should be concerned.[170] Moreover, he argued the

problem should not be understood as only a Tuareg problem – it was a problem of

disenfranchised ethnic minorities living in undergoverned spaces, and Bilal pointed to the Toubou

of southern Libya, the Zaghawa in Chad and Sudan, and the Fulani among such groups in similar

circumstances.[171] Compounding countries' inability to govern spaces is there inability to respond

to security issues once they occur. Secretary Clinton noted this when she described the situation

in Mali, "[The U.S. has] been working to try to upgrade security around Northern Mali, among a

number of the countries. Algeria's the only one with any real ability to do that. Most of these

countries don't have the capacity to do that."[172]

As of late February 2013, a U.S. policy restricted assistance to the Malian army since its

government came to power through a coup; however, the U.S. was providing assistance in the

form of intelligence, air refueling services, and airlift operations.[173] Mali was expected to hold

national elections in July 2013 which would likely clear the way for increased U.S. support.

Secretary Clinton elaborated on the difficulty yet necessity of addressing Islamic extremists in

northern Mali, "This is going to be a very serious ongoing threat because if you look at the size of

northern Mali, if you look at the topography, it's not only desert, it's caves -- sounds reminiscent.

We are in for a struggle. But it is a necessary struggle. We cannot permit northern Mali to

become a safe haven."[174] GEN Ham elaborated on "desired end states" in Mali, which included

Bamako's ability to extend its reach throughout Mali, the country's territorial integrity restored,

[170]Lahcen, "Sahel-Saharan Turmoil Poses Global Threat."

[171]Ibid.

[172]Transcript: Hillary Clinton Senate Hearing On Benghazi.

[173]Roulo, "Mali's Lessons Inform Future Partnership Efforts, Official Says."

[174]Transcript: Hillary Clinton Senate Hearing On Benghazi.

and AQIM unable to control the north.[175]

The women of Mali have long struggled with gender inequality in a patriarchal society that is heavily influenced by strict Islamic teachings. While Mali is officially secular, Islam informs social norms in a country where ninety percent of the population is Muslim. In 2009, a ten-year effort to revise the country's Family Code and grant women increased rights was met with strong opposition by some of the country's most influential Islamic leaders. Leaders, to include the president of Mali's High Islamic Council, as well as the president of the National Union of Muslim Women's Associations (NUMWA), argued the revisions were fundamentally against Islamic law, *sharia*.[176] The revisions included steps that would have recognized marriage as a secular institution, expanded women's property and inheritance rights, and raised the minimum age for females to marry to eighteen. A lack of understanding about the proposed codes coupled with fear-mongering by Islamic leaders that called the revisions an "open road to debauchery" drew large protests and forced then President Amadou Toumani Toure to withdraw the bill.[177] A new Family Code was passed in January 2013; however, according to Safiatou Doumbia, a member of the Malian Association for Care and Assistance to Women and Children, the new bill would prove counterproductive for women.

> The new law brings women's rights back to more than 50 years ago because some rights women had in the former law have been banned. Before, a woman would automatically keep her children if her husband died. This is not the case with the new law, which allows

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[175]U.S. AFRICOM Public Affairs, "Transcript: General Ham Discusses U.S. AFRICOM Objectives and Africa Security Issues at Brown University."; Joint Publications 5-0, *Joint Operational Planning* defines "military end state" as the set of required conditions that defines achievement of all military objectives.

[176]Martin Vogl, "To Love, Honour and Obey in Mali," *BBC*, August 27, 2009. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/8223966.stm (accessed April 4, 2013).

[177]Soumaila T. Diarra, "Women's Rights in Mali 'set Back 50 Years' by New 'family Code' Law," *Guardian*, May 1, 2012. http://www.guardian.co.uk/global-development/2012/may/01/womens-rights-mali-50-years (accessed April 4, 2013).

a family counsel to decide who should keep the children.[178]

As opposed to only recognizing marriages performed by secular authorities, the 2013 version of the bill recognized religious weddings as legally binding, which Doumbia described as problematic, because, "Muslim and traditional weddings allow men to marry many wives and divorce them easily if they want without protecting women's rights."[179] In probably the most telling description of the true crux of the problem surrounding the debate about revisions to the Family Code – or really any debate in the country, the NUMWA president argued, "It's a tiny minority of woman here who want this new law; the intellectuals. The poor and illiterate women of this country, the real Muslims, are against it."[180]

The recent conflict and increased insecurity throughout much of Mali has disproportionately affected women and children. The conflict has exacerbated food insecurity, and the flow of IDPs south and into urban areas – areas where it is likely they have fewer support networks - has strained already limited infrastructures and food supplies.[181] In the north, armed Islamist forces imposed a strict interpretation of *sharia* to justify actions such as: denying women medical care due to a lack of female medical personnel, imposing strict dress codes for women, organizing forced marriages of women to several men, and conducting amputations and stonings

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[178]Ibid.

[179]Ibid.

[180] Vogl, "To Love, Honour and Obey in Mali."

[181]Rachel Warden, "Risks for Children and Women Are Far from Over, in Mali," *UNICEF*, February 15, 2013. http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/mali_67879.html (accessed April 4, 2013); UNHCR, "Enormous Challenges Faced by Mali's Urban Displaced," *UNHCR*, February 19, 2013. http://www.unhcr.org/pages/4ab1eb446/gallery-51235ab96.html (accessed April 4, 2013).

to punish actions deemed incongruent with Islamic law.[182] Malian women have not been silent,

however, and have voiced their demands for increased protection and representation to solve the

multi-faceted conflict. Malian female leaders listed their demands entitled "Appeal from Mali

Women," and shared these with the United Nations Deputy Secretary-General Jan Eliasson

during an October 2012 meeting.

> We, the women from civil society in Mali…demand the following at the decision-making level: at least 30 percent female representation in all bodies for crisis management and post-crisis management; participation in political and institutional governance, security and the electoral process; capacity-building in terms of mediation, negotiation, prevention, conflict-management and peace-consolidation; advocacy by the UN Secretary-General in favor of reparation for the harm suffered by rape victims as well as their care; and immediate implementation of a support fund for the self-empowerment of the women of Mali.[183]

Winning is in part a result of maintaining an operational tempo that allows one to achieve

and maintain a comparative advantage. A joint FET-Conflict and Stabilization Operations (CSO)

team would help to determine and achieve that operational tempo by collaborating to identify and

mitigate sources of instability while identifying potential partners for stabilization - activities that

both already generally perform.[184] This recommendation is based on the following logic:

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[182]Associated Press "Woman in Mali Punished for Forbidden Love," *CBS News*, February 6, 2013. http://www.cbsnews.com/8301-202_162-57568032/woman-in-mali-punished-for-forbidden-love/?pageNum=2 (accessed April 4, 2013).

[183]Women of Mali Call for Increased Protection and Involvement in Resolving the Conflict, *UN Women*, November 5, 2012. http://www.unwomen.org/2012/11/women-of-mali-call-for-increased-protection-and-involvement-in-resolving-the-conflict/ (accessed April 4, 2013). Beyond the description of the demands listed here, there is a not a publically available copy of the "Appeal from Mali Women" document.

[184]The mission of the Bureau of Conflict and Stabilization Operations (CSO) within the U.S. Department of State is to strengthen U.S. national security by breaking cycles of violent conflict and mitigating crisis in priority countries. Guided by local dynamics, CSO acts quickly to devise sustainable solutions to address the full spectrum of conflict, from prevention to crisis response to stabilization. According to the CSO website, Mali is a priority country for the organization; however, there is a lack of information publically available that describes the scope and nature of current CSO operations in Mali.

increased access enables the more timely identification of sources of (in)stability which facilitates the tempo at which U.S. operations and activities are arranged in time, space, and purpose toward achieving U.S. security objectives. The author acknowledged that there are disparities between current FET and CSO authorities and capabilities that may prevent their immediate interoperability. However, the organizations' emergent logics may be similar enough to facilitate some level of collaboration given their mutual focus on – and the current need for - "building coalitions with local stakeholders and promoting policies and practices that reduce violence and increase community resilience."[185]

As Mali's history has illustrated, the sustainability of post-conflict peace and security will be based on the credibility of a national reconciliation process. Previous attempts at reconciliation have failed in part due to the mismatch in tempo between efforts meant to mitigate threats and those intended to engender peace and security. Therefore, the tempo of U.S. military operations should be at least partially be informed by a FET-CSO team's cognitive tempo – its ability to identify the interests that reconciliation must address, as well as those Malian partners with the credibility and capability to participate in reconciliation. Failing to do so risks exacerbating the tensions between the current state of conflict and those desired conditions whereby all of the people of Mali view Bamako as a credible governing authority and source of stability.

ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

The purpose of this section is to determine whether the three initially proposed hypotheses were either supported, unsupported, or the findings prove inconclusive. The three hypotheses ascertain the employment of FETs would support: the accomplishment of AFRICOM

[185]Conflict and Stabilization Operations, "CSO: What We Do," U.S. Department of State, http://www.state.gov/j/cso/what/ (accessed April 4, 2013).

objectives, regional security objectives in the Maghreb, and country-specific objectives in Mali.

Each of the hypotheses was evaluated based on the answers to the research questions that guided

this study. This section concluded with a discussion on the implications of the analytical findings

and what they could mean for the future of FETs.

The first hypothesis postulated the employment of FETs would help accomplish

AFRICOM objectives. Based on the research findings, this hypothesis is supported. Given the

nature of AFRICOM's mission and the command's unique focus on security through

engagement, FETs have the potential to help bridge the gap between state-centered notions of

security and the often more relevant understanding of insecurity as a result of internal challenges,

namely weak rule of law. Moreover, with the appropriate training, FETs can be used to help

AFRICOM accomplish its objectives across a broad time horizon, in multiple spaces, and in

support of multiple purposes. The purposes could be as varied as designing and implementing

security sector reform, to demonstrating the importance of gender integration into partner nations'

militaries.

The second hypothesis claimed the employment of FETs would help accomplish U.S.

security objectives in the Maghreb. Based on the research findings, this hypothesis is supported.

The Arab Spring that took place in the Maghreb as well as the several coups that have affected

Sahelian countries suggest both regions are in the midst reframing their notions of governance,

inclusion, and the effect both have on individual and collective opportunity. While these

reconceptualizations may be taking place cognitively, the difficulty lies in transforming these

initiatives into meaningful reforms. Therefore, FETs, as demonstrated in their contributions in

Afghanistan, have the unique ability to shape, inform, and implement U.S. security initiatives that

help connect traditionally marginalized communities and perspectives, particularly that of

women, with their country's formal governing institutions. Ultimately, this approach is

underpinned by the logic that connecting these communities to a functioning government will

decrease the physical and cognitive space available for Islamic extremism to take hold.

The final hypothesis asserted the employment of FETs would help accomplish U.S. security objectives in Mali. Based on the research findings, this hypothesis is supported. The coup in 2012 and the takeover of the northern part of the country in 2013 by Islamic extremists could be looked at as recent events that happened to Bamako. Or, they could be understood as the most recent culminations of structural deficiencies that challenge Bamako's ability to govern equitably – events that happened because of Bamako. For example, Bamako could be blamed for the country's abysmal literacy rate, which is significantly worse among women; failed reconciliation and security reforms with its northern population; and the encroachment of religious views on public policies in this formally secular country that have disproportionately affected the livelihoods of Malian women. If Mali is to regain its title as a model of democracy in West Africa, and this time deserve it, Malian problems will require solutions with all Malians – men and women – in mind. The employment of FETs in support of security and development objectives alike would demonstrate the U.S.' resolve toward holistically addressing Mali's security challenges.

While it is clear FETs can support a myriad of security objectives, the efficacy and effectiveness of their engagements rest on the assumption the teams are properly recruited, trained, and professionally incentivized. Moreover, their employment assumes FETs' actions support a well-articulated and well-understood strategy about how and why engaging female populations are good for the U.S. military, the women themselves, and the partner nation. Therefore, after confirming what the FETs can do in support of security objectives on the African continent, the discussion should naturally progress to how the DoD ensures FETs are most effectively and efficiently employed. The answer to this question lays in institutionalizing FETs within the DoD so that FETs are understood as a critical enabler versus mandated tasking.

This section evaluated the three hypotheses against the answers from the research

questions that drove this study. The research findings positively supported all three hypotheses and demonstrated the ability and utility of FETs in support of multi-tiered security objectives. In assessing the implications of the findings, it became evident that the employment of FETs rested on several critical assumptions. Therefore, the need to uniformly transform these assumptions into realities across the DoD validated the need to institutionalize FETs within the department.

CONCLUSION

This study aimed to demonstrate the need to institutionalize FETs as a critical enabler within the DoD. The study was theoretically grounded in Amartya Sen's understanding of "development as freedom," and conceptually informed by an appreciation for the role of women in development, the U.N. Human Development Index as a measure of development, and development traps or recognized challenges to a country's balanced economic and social development.[186] Utilizing three case studies, the qualitative research questions examined the security objectives at U.S. Africa Command, in the Maghreb region, and specifically in the West African country of Mali, and the contextual challenges within each environment. Recommendations to address these challenges were structured according to the *Prevent, Shape, Win* construct as described by the Army 2012 Posture Statement. In illustrating the ways the employment of FETs could meet security objectives at the three levels, the three hypotheses were confirmed. The significance of the findings, however, highlighted the need to ensure the assumptions that underpinned the effectiveness and efficacy of the employment of FETs were transformed into organizational and resource realities.

On March 13, 2013, while speaking before the U.S. Army School of Advanced Military Studies (SAMS), the Commander of U.S. Army Special Operations Command, LTG Charles T.

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[186]Sen, xii.; The World Bank, 152.; Collier, 68.

Cleveland discussed the importance of the human domain.[187] He specifically described the need for operational planners to think about ways the U.S. Army would operate in places where the U.S. military would likely never invade, but within which the U.S. would still need to contest for influence. This highlighted the importance of engagement to the extent it should be cognitively considered the seventh warfighting function even if it was not so literally. Several weeks prior, SAMS students were tasked to utilize operational design to analyze and develop an operational approach to address the current insecurity in Mali. As part of the reconciliation process that would need to occur in Mali, the author mentioned the opportunity to include women in the process. In response, a mid-career U.S. Army officer with operational experiences in Iraq, Georgia, and West Africa responded by saying, "I'm sorry, but what does that do for us?"[188]

This is the crux of the problem and underscores the significance of this study. There may be an appreciation at the highest levels of the department regarding the need for engagement and specific initiatives that address women in conflict. Unfortunately, the response of a U.S. Army officer attending the service's premier operational training institution is likely indicative of deep institutional deficiencies throughout the department about the unique ways women have been affected in conflict as well as their potential to serve as agents of peace and security.

The institutionalization of FETs may be an effective way to develop and inform U.S. security capabilities that are better aligned with U.S. national intents. If it is accepted as logical to engage with 50 percent of the population, then the U.S. military needs a logic that guides how FETs are employed. An expression of that logic should be conveyed in a way that the U.S. military understands - institutionalization. Failing to institutionalize FETs, or more specifically,

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[187]LTG Charles T. Cleveland, "Address to U.S. Army School of Advanced Military Studies" (lecture, U.S. Army School of Advanced Military Studies, Ft Leavenworth, KS, March 13, 2013).

[188]SAMS Student, interaction with author during course activity, March 1, 2013.

failing to institutionalize a more holistic understanding of (in)security, increases the likelihood that U.S. security operations may be sources of insecurity in their efforts to provide "security."

Throughout the course of this research, several lines of questioning required further clarification to avoid solutions to today's challenges serving as the source for tomorrow's problems. For example, Dr. Brooks of the U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences raised the concern that the creation of FETs may cognitively create Male Engagement Teams.[189] Related, the way ahead for FETs will need to be cognizant of the potentiality for FETs to engender perceptions that only women can and should be concerned with gender perspectives. In Afghanistan, several European coalition partners utilized mixed-gender engagement teams, because they did not have enough women to staff female-only teams.[190] There may be utility in understanding whether and how the U.S. military could employ mixed-gender teams based on a different necessity – the need for a larger cadre of airmen, sailors, soldiers, and marines with an operational understanding of why gender security contributes to overall security and stability.

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[189]Brooks, interview.

[190]Medeiros, 6.

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